00020383

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018

$x+9-28$

J. Lichfield

PHOTOGRAPHED BY MAULL AND CO.

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN LONSDALE,

BISHOP OF LICHFIELD;

WITH SOME OF HIS WRITINGS:

EDITED BY HIS SON IN LAW,

EDMUND BECKETT DENISON,

LL.D., Q.C., F.R.A.S.,

AUTHOR OF 'ASTRONOMY WITHOUT MATHEMATICS,' &C.

20383
ac

With a Portrait.

xx-9-28

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1868.

922.242
Lon/Den/Lif
20383

NOTICE.

In case this book should come to a second edition I shall be thankful for any further information about the Bishop.

E. B. D.

33 Queen Anne Street, W.
29 *February* 1868.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,
AND CHARING CROSS.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS CONSECRATION.

Uneventful character of bishop Lonsdale's life p. 1. His letters 2. Religious parties 4. History of the See of Lichfield 6 (note). His birth and pedigree 7. His wife's family 10. Precocity and early school days 10. Eton 11. Cambridge 15. His doings there 15. Latin and Greek scholarship 17. Studies law 18. Ordained, and made Abp's chaplain and Assistant Preacher at the Temple 19. Sermons there and at Cambridge 20. Canon of Lichfield 21. His brother Henry 21. Fellow of Eton and Rector of Bloomsbury and Southfleet 22. Archbishop's Options 23. Preacher of Lincoln's Inn 24. List of L. I. Preachers 25. Masters of the Temple 26. His writing of testimonials 28. Principal of King's College London 29. Defends Professor Maurice 31. Letter to Mr. Harvey 32. Elected Provost of Eton 34. Archdeacon of Middlesex 35. Bishop Blomfield and his church reforms 36. Offered the bishopric of Lichfield by Sir R. Peel 40. Unwillingly accepts it 42. Character of his episcopate 43. Letter of bishop Sumner 45. Letter to his wife 46. Note about his school days 46.

Chapter II.

THE CHIEF EVENTS OF HIS EPISCOPATE.

Annotations on the Gospels 47. Commission on marriages of affinity 48. Arguments of bishops Blomfield and Philpotts 50. His opinion of 'simony' 52. Cambridge University commission 54. His legal judgment 54. Reconsecration of churches 55. Clergy Discipline Act 56. Ecclesiastical law books 57. Lichfield theological college 57. Opposition to it 59. His determination to uphold it 62. Letters about it 63, 64. His interest in education 65. His Cathedral Statutes 67. Nurse-training institution 69. His impartiality and firmness 71. Opinions about patronage 74. Effect of a rule of his 75. Treatment of his own family 76. Visitation charges 77. Privy Council on education 77. Charge on Scepticism and Inspiration 79. His opinion of Popery 92.

Chapter III.

HIS GENERAL WORK AND CORRESPONDENCE.

The bishop in Convocation 93. Bishops of Natal and Capetown 94. Letters about infidelity 95. On translation of the Bible 98. On clerical difficulties 100. On the Athanasian Creed 111. His practice in church 113. Letter about S. P. G. 114. Mrs. Lonsdale's death 117. His opinions about burial 117. A letter of condolence 118. His opinion of high-churchism 120. Address of his clergy, and his answer 123. Reopening of Lichfield Cathedral 125. Restoration of Eccleshall Church begun as a testimonial to him 125.

Chapter IV.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

His oratorical excellence 128. Power of his voice 129. His preaching 131. The refined style of writing 133. His confirmations 134. Lichfield church extension 135. Additional bishoprics 137. Episcopal incomes 139. His style of living and hospitality 140. History of Eccleshall 142. His daily engagements 144. Letters 144. Facsimile of one 146. Mr. Norris's testimony about him 147. Doxology of the Lord's prayer 151. Warburton lectureship 151. Letter about S. P. C. K. tracts 156. Hymn books 157. Courtesy to dissenters 160. His preference of gentlemen 163. His own manners 164. His readiness and accuracy 165. Dislike of obscure writing 166. His memory 166. His sincerity 169. Instances of his kindness 170. His last letter 173. His courage 174. Letters to his grandson 175. To his daughters 178. To Dr. Kennedy 181. His conversation 182. Love of jokes 182: of plays 185. His personal habits 186. His appearance 188.

Chapter V.

HIS LAST DAYS.

Rumoured offers of translation 190. The two archbishoprics 191. Archbishop Sumner 193. Lord Palmerston's bishops 195. First warning of his end 197. Lambeth conference of bishops 198. Wolverhampton congress 200. His opening address there 201. His management of it 206. The Crosier 207. The Bible and Science 211. His two last sermons 217. Denstone school 218. His speeches at Stafford for it 221, 226. His last hour, death and funeral 230. Sayings about him 232. Meeting of the diocese 233. Various memorials 234. Happiness of his life and death 236. Dr. Kennedy's recollections of him 239. Archdeacon Allen's 242. His epitaph at Eccleshall 250: at King's College London 251. Verses in memoriam 252.

SELECTIONS FROM BISHOP LONSDALE'S WRITINGS.

THREE SERMONS.

I. ON THE NECESSITY OF FAITH IN THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST 255.
II. ON THE PARABLE OF THE UNJUST STEWARD 274.
III. ON CHURCH MUSIC: HIS LAST SERMON 291.

LATIN AND GREEK VERSES.

Mr. Shilleto's preface to the bishop's verses 305.

Verses at Eton:
On The Suicide 307.
The Fall of Cities 310.
Life is a Dream (Greek Anacreontics) 312.
The passage of the Red Sea 314.
Magic of the Muse 322.
Pleasure and Virtue 325.
Sculpture 326.
Paradise (Greek) 328.
Vale to Eton 329.

Cambridge prize poems:
On the Death of Pitt 330.
On the deliverance of Portugal 335.
Prognostics of rain (translation) 341.
Invitation to birds (translation) 343.
Chorus in Hecuba (translation) 347.
Declamation at Eton on courage and prudence 350.

Epitaph on the Rev. R. Wilkinson and his wife 355.

Portrait of the Bishop .. .. to face titlepage.
Facsimile of his letter .. .. „ p. 146.

THE LIFE OF
JOHN LONSDALE,
BISHOP OF LICHFIELD.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS CONSECRATION.

BISHOP LONSDALE'S peaceful life in a provincial see offers no great scope to a biographer. All the history, public and private, and all the letters and sayings that are preserved, of a greater man, though not a greater bishop, Joseph Butler of Durham, the author of the 'Analogy,' are comprised in a few pages. A determined biographer can doubtless make a life of any prescribed length of any man who lived long and had a large correspondence—or a small one. But I have no claim to that title; and I am afraid the readers of these pages will be rather disappointed with the fewness than the multitude of the bishop's letters which appear, out of the 120,000

which he must have written during his episcopate alone.

Not many of his letters have been sent to his family, in answer to the published request for any that might be deemed interesting; and not all that have been sent appear suitable for publication. He seldom wrote on general topics, unless they were connected with his work; and he can hardly be said to have had any public life beyond his own diocese, though he had friends everywhere, and there seems to have been no place in England where his character was not appreciated, as we have learnt since his death. He never spoke more than a few words in Parliament, to the regret of those who knew how well he could speak; and seldom even in the clerical parliament which sits in the Jerusalem Chamber with no power of legislation; and there only for the purpose of counselling moderation.

Though he was an ardent cultivator of literature, a member of several literary clubs, a great and careful reader in his younger days, as the margins of his books testify, a severer critic than is generally known, and the writer of a style unsurpassed for purity and elegance, weighing every word he wrote, or sanctioned, he has left no literary correspondence, nor any writings except his ser-

mons and visitation charges, of which I shall have to speak hereafter.

After he became bishop, it will be seen in some of the letters which are printed, that he continually regretted that he had scarcely any time to read, except in travelling; and much of that reading too related to his daily work. His life and his greatness consisted, not in producing striking effects here and there, and being glorified in newspaper paragraphs, but in doing those daily duties, individually small and common to all his brethren, on the whole as no one else had done them, and so as to convince all who saw him frequently that he was far above ordinary men.

I therefore undertake the duty of writing this short account of his life with a consciousness that it must be disappointing; that it can neither satisfy those who knew him well, nor convey to those who did not a complete idea of what he was. I have undertaken it because his own family and some of his friends were pleased to desire that I should. And I cannot doubt that many persons will be glad to have some visible memorial, however imperfect, of 'this great prelate,' 'the Best-loved bishop in the land,' as he was truly called by the leading newspapers of the laity and the clergy, who was looked up to as a truly spiritual

father by the people of three counties for well nigh a quarter of a century.

Sons-in-law have less of one disqualification for biographers than sons, inasmuch as it is thought unbecoming for sons to speak of any defects of their father; and however impartial they may be, their picture is sure to be assumed to be a partial one. Of course I have the benefit of such information as they can add to my own. Joint authorship is intolerable, and I take the full responsibility of telling the story of my father-in-law's life and opinions in my own way. My only special qualification for it is that of having enjoyed the most intimate friendship with him ever since I was old enough to judge of men's characters. Before I became one of his family I had been attracted to him as I never was to any other man; but this qualification would be shared with me by many. Afterwards the intimacy naturally became closer, and whenever he came to London for some years past he stayed either with or near us. Nor is it a slight advantage to be able to say that there is no point of importance on which I am tempted to keep back his opinions by any disagreement of my own with them.

The two opposite religious parties, whom it is necessary to designate by the received names of

'high church' or 'tractarian' or 'ritualistic,' and 'low church' or 'evangelical' or 'calvinistic,' know full well that he had no sympathy with so much of their theology as is peculiar to themselves. Occasionally he had to express his dissent from them both by emphatic words and acts; which it is the duty of his biographer to record; and to show that he was not the 'colourless,' indifferent man, with no definite opinions of his own, which persons of such absolute impartiality are generally assumed to be. Each party will think I am thereby damaging his character. But the large and increasing number of those who disclaim the views of both of them will perhaps think otherwise, and be content to admire the liberality and charity with which a man of firm opinions could sympathise and act with and support those whose peculiarities he disliked.

Great as my own admiration of him was, I am not so foolish as to endeavour to make him out to have been perfect. It is far better for his fame that his slight defects should be fairly exhibited, than left to be supplied by every one according to his own imagination. For instance, I have heard him called by those who knew him very little, weak, and easy to influence. Never was a description wider of the mark; and yet he had a

much smaller defect, which, together with his wonderful kindness and goodnature, left people who did not understand him to guess that he was weak and easy to move—until they tried. But I shall have more to say of that hereafter.

JOHN LONSDALE, the 89th bishop of the diocese which resumed its old name of Lichfield in 1837,*

* It was the see of Mercia from 656 to 669: then Lichfield till 1075, when it was transferred to Chester for 26 years; but the present bishopric of Chester only dates from 1541. Then it became Coventry till 1193, and then C. and L. or L. and C. as the bishops pleased, and sometimes both appear in the same document, and the two chapters elected jointly, until the Reformation, when Coventry cathedral (which had three spires like Lichfield and was grander) was destroyed, in spite of the entreaties of the bishop, 'Roland (Lee) Cov. et Lich.' Then it was called L. and C. till the first year of bishop Samuel Butler, when the archdeaconry of C. was transferred to Worcester, and that name dropped. One of the Saxon bishops, Eadulf, was made archbishop of Lichfield. (See Dugdale, and Shaw's History of Staffordshire.)

The 'Lichfield diocesan Calendar' and some other catalogues give the dates of consecration of the bishops anywhere, and not the dates of their coming to Lichfield, as all readers assume them to be until they have occasion to look into the matter for themselves. Thus Bishop Bowstead was translated in 1839 from Sodor and Man, Ryder from Gloucester in 1824, Egerton from Bangor in 1768, Smallbrooke from St. David's in 1730, Hough from Oxford in 1699, Lloyd (who rebuilt Eccleshall Castle) from St. Asaph in 1692, and so on: all which dates are later than those in the calendar. In other catalogues of bishops, in 'Haydn's Book of Dignities' and 'Beatson's Index,' Chad, the first bishop of Lichfield, is said to have been translated to York, whereas he came *from* York, of which he was bishop and not archbishop. And bishop Hurd is called Master of the Temple, instead of Preacher of Lincoln's Inn.

was born on the 17th of January 1788, 'about 2 o'clock in the morning,' says his mother's book of family events, at a place called Newmillerdam near Wakefield. No man, or his family, is yet indifferent to the fact that he was born a gentleman, however much we respect those, very few, who acquire that undefinable character for themselves, by education and natural good sense and modesty. I suppose most people have a standard of their own on that point; but if all who knew this bishop had to declare who was the most thoroughly a gentleman they had ever known, I have no doubt that he would have a large majority of votes.

Not that he had any great pedigree to boast of, so far as he knew, or would have thought better of himself if he had. He was the eldest son of the Reverend John Lonsdale, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who held the vicarage (not the rectory which there is also) of Darfield, in the patronage of that college, with the perpetual curacy of Chapelthorpe near Wakefield, where Newmillerdam is. He was the son of another John Lonsdale, a gentleman of independent means at Masham, farther north; and no doubt they came originally from the banks of the Lune, from which the town of Kirby Lonsdale derives

its euphonious name. John Lonsdale the second was third 'senior optime' in 1761, and seems, from some of his letters to his wife about his two sons, and especially 'Jack,' to have been something of a scholar. Those letters, both in their composition, and in his evident humility and patience, and his warm affection for all his family, show a considerable likeness to his more distinguished son.

He married when he was 48 Elizabeth Steer, an heiress in a small way of a very old Yorkshire family named Gylby, from whom that name descended to the bishop's only brother and to both his sons. One of the Gylbys was governor of Hull, and received from Charles II. a long lease of Sunk Island in the Humber, which remained in the Lonsdale family till about 35 years ago, when that mode of leasing the Crown property was abandoned. The second John Lonsdale had to spend six weary months in London in 1799, waiting upon and for Treasury officials for the renewal of the lease, not daring to leave them. Then it was that he wrote those letters to his wife, generally containing something about 'Jack,' whom he took to Eton in the middle of that time, and saying that even such a small affair as the granting of that lease depended finally on

Mr. Pitt, and complaining grievously of the laziness and indifference of the minor officials, and of a suspected opposition to his interests in favour of somebody else. It is singular that the only angry expression I have read in any of the bishop's letters is about the behaviour of some other small officials, who, he said, 'thought fit to ape the im-'portance of their superiors.' But that was long ago, and of course it never happens now.

Mr. Lonsdale died in 1807 at the age of 70, in his son's first year at Cambridge. His wife survived him 20 years and lived to 77, a woman remarkable for her memory and understanding, which her husband evidently appreciated, consulting her all through the business of Sunk Island. Her mother had lived to 80, and the first John Lonsdale to 83, though he died 4 years before his grandson the bishop was born. So he was well descended for longevity.*

From Masham also came the late John

* A curious fatality has attended the name of Mary in his family. His grandmother Mary Lonsdale died on her son's birth when she was 20. Her only daughter Mary 'died young,' according to Mrs. Lonsdale's book. She herself had two successive daughters of that name, who died, one an infant, the other at 17, the only sister whom the bishop knew. His brother's daughter Mary died not much older; and the only grandchild that he lost was the only one of that name, by which he regretted that she had been christened as soon as he was told of it.

Bolland, M.P., a great London hop-merchant, who dwelt at Clapham, and used to take care of our 'Jack' in his journeys through London to Eton, and had six beautiful and clever daughters, of whom the fifth, Sophia, married the future bishop on the 25th of November 1815. Another married her cousin Baron Bolland, and the youngest was the wife of Sir William Reid, K.C.B., the investigator of the law of storms, and the wise and benevolent governor of several colonies, and the manager, with absolute power, of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Of all his five quasi brothers-in-law the bishop was the most attached to him, as a man of truly noble character.

It seems he was a precocious boy. His mother used to tell how an old gentleman, who heard him read a Psalm when he was three years old, said, 'he reads better than his father.' A piece of very good writing of his has been kept, with the date of March 1794 upon it, when he was only six. And in that year he went to a grammar school of some celebrity at Heath near Halifax, of which the Rev. Robert Wilkinson was head-master for no less than fifty years, as is testified in the Latin epitaph to him and his wife in Halifax parish church, which was written by the bishop in 1840 (see p. 355, and note p. 46).

He was sent to Eton at eleven in April 1799, a scholar above his years. But as he was going into college he was placed in the 'middle remove fourth form,' according to his age and not his learning, by an absurd rule which prevailed then and long after, and which ruined many a boy by enabling him to be idle. He was talking to me about this very thing a fortnight before he died. Mr. Plumptre his tutor (after Mr. Briggs his first tutor became a fellow), who died at a great age not long ago, said once to his eldest son, 'Sir, your father was a poet in the fourth form.' And Dr. Goodall, the head-master when he left, wrote to his father commending both his industry and ability, and adding, 'his judgment is far above his years;' and saying that those qualities led him to predict that he would succeed in any line of life which he might follow.

No prediction was ever more fully verified; for he did succeed in everything he put his hand to. Whatever he found to do he 'did it with his might,' and his might was such that he not only did it well, but generally better than every one else. We shall see that Sir Robert Peel nearly forty years afterwards offered him the bishopric of his own diocese, expressly on account of his reputation for the same qualities for which

his old schoolmaster had pronounced him conspicuous. No man ever owed less of his advancement to what is commonly called luck, or to that species of conjuring which contrives to persuade the dispensers of promotion that those who have done nothing well anywhere are the proper objects for promotion through a long series of dignities, until they suddenly vanish and come to an end as mere names in a catalogue, or something worse.

Dr. Goodall is also reported to have been asked in his old age who was the best scholar he had ever had at Eton, and to have answered after some deliberation, 'Lonsdale.' I do not say the best that Eton ever had; for without going farther back Dr. Goodall would certainly remember that Porson was a contemporary there of his own. The bishop maintained to the last the supremacy of Eton over all other schools with amusing pertinacity. Even when rejoicing over one of his grandsons being elected at Winchester he added, 'I wish it had been Eton.' The year before he died his wish was gratified by another grandson being elected into that magnificent foundation second out of 70 candidates. And he had before seen his own eldest son carry off the great prize of the school, the Newcastle scholar-

ship; for which both father and son were often examiners.

In his time it appears that the holidays began, as now, at the end of July, but ended on the 1st of September, three or four weeks sooner than they do now. His mother kept a book of accounts of all his school expenses, both at Heath and Eton, and sums them up thus: 'total expenses at Heath for 4½ years 244*l.*,' or 54*l.* a-year on the average; and '8 years at Eton 1407*l.*; may be averaged at 145*l.* a-year, including clothes, journeys &c.' He was a year and a quarter an oppidan; but in those days, and long after, the collegers' expenses were not much less than the oppidans'; for they were (one can only say) defrauded of many of the benefits intended for them by the founder, and even by special benefactors besides; but all that is materially altered now. In my time there we used to look down on 'College,' which was never full, and its reputation had grievously declined since the days of Lonsdale, Patteson, and Rennell. Now, the competition for it is what I have indicated by the number of candidates for a few vacancies, and its success is testified yearly by the Newcastle scholarship and the Cambridge Triposes.

Far be it from me therefore to say that the

bishop's partiality was misplaced. And he rejoiced in the prosperity of all schools. He was a frequent visitor at the Harrow speeches, under Dr. Vaughan and Dr. Montagu Butler; and he took a warm interest in the rapid rise of Haileybury, in its new form, under another son of his old friend Dr. Butler, where another of his grandsons got a scholarship. The relations between him and the head-master through nearly all his time of the celebrated school of his own diocese will be testified by the letter from Dr. Kennedy which will be seen at p. 239, and by several of the bishop's letters to him. But he could patiently hear any school but one found fault with. The Rev. J. P. Norris, Canon of Bristol, who was Inspector of schools in part of his diocese and often stayed at Eccleshall, writes, in some notes which I shall refer to again, 'Two things only ever 'made him angry within my hearing: one was an 'attack on Eton; the other was something said 'disparagingly of the late Sir Robert Peel.'*

* The remark will of course be made that he owed his bishopric to Sir Robert Peel; and certainly gratitude was the last motive that he would disavow, either by his words or actions. But his high opinion of that minister was formed before his promotion. Peel's striking qualities were exactly those which he admired, without the least regard to the mere battle of politics between one party and another, for which he cared nothing. But he cared a great deal for

He left Eton for King's in December 1806; and there he got most of the prizes which were open to the men of that college; for the Chancellor's medals were not, because the Mathematical Tripos was not; and in fact they got their degrees without any University examination until the time of the present Provost; and the Classical Tripos did not exist till 1824. That also for a long time had to be entered through the other: no King's man appears in it till 1853. He got the Browne's medal for Latin Odes in 1807 and 1809; and in the latter year was elected University Scholar. It was in that examination, and not in the leisure of his own room, that he wrote the famous Alcaic translation from the 'Hecuba,' which has been several times reprinted. All these are included in the verses in this volume, which are edited by his eldest son, in consultation with the Rev. R. Shilleto of Cambridge.

Persons still alive remember that when the candidates sent their 'Latin letters' to the Examiners, declaring their intention to sit for the scholarship,

wisdom and honesty and liberality (not 'liberalism') and industry and patriotism and self-sacrifice; and he hated selfishness and trickery, and thoroughly appreciated the distinction between those who consciously sacrifice themselves by at last adopting the measures they have opposed, as Peel did twice, and those who outbid their opponents merely for their own advantage.

it was said that Lonsdale's letter alone proved him to be the scholar of the University. It has been said both then and since that no such Latin as his had been written since the Augustan age. His chief competitor was Thomas Rennell of his own college, of whom he afterwards wrote a short and beautiful memoir on his premature death as Vicar of Kensington in 1824; and (as is believed) his epitaph in Salisbury Cathedral of which he was a prebendary.

Though the King's men had no mathematical examinations then, we found two manuscript books of mathematics in the bishop's hand, of deductions from Euclid and trigonometry. Many persons will be surprised to learn that this old Fellow of King's, known to the world only as a scholar, once knew how to calculate the height of an unapproachable tower. But it must be confessed that he had singularly little taste for physical science; counterbalanced or aggravated (as the reader may prefer) by a still more active distaste for metaphysics, which extended to all unpractical refinements of theology.

But he was much too wise a man to depreciate science because he had no taste for it himself. Not that he gave much countenance to the proposals for teaching boys what is called 'science'

at schools, instead of educating their minds by the old methods, nor did he look with favour on the idea of supplanting Latin and Greek by modern languages. These things have no doubt, to use a phrase of the day, a 'greater commercial value' than Latin and Greek; and therefore they are sure enough to be added. Where 'commercial value' is on one side of the scale it requires little help now to make it preponderate. The late Lord Cockburn, the Scotch judge, was all his life an active reformer and friend of the first promoters of the 'useful knowledge' movement, and therefore not at all likely to be swayed by antiquated prejudices against the experience of a long life. Perhaps the bishop would not have expressed himself quite as strongly as the judge, but substantially he had come to the same conclusion as Lord Cockburn states in his 'Life and Recollections:'—

'My first class was for more of that weary Latin: an excellent thing, if it had been got. For all I have seen, and all I felt even then, have satisfied me that there is no solid and graceful foundation for boys' minds like classical learning grammatically acquired; and that all the modern substitutes, of what is called 'useful knowledge,' breed little beyond conceit, vulgarity, and general ignorance.'

Mr. Lonsdale took his B.A. degree in January 1811, having become a fellow of King's as an undergraduate in 1809, according to the custom of that college. There began his friendship, which was only ended by death, with that eminent judge and admirable man, of simplicity and wisdom and benevolence like his own, the late Sir John Patteson, who was University Scholar the year after him. Our bishop himself began to read for the bar, like some other distinguished ecclesiastics, being admitted at Lincoln's Inn in December 1811; and he lived in Stone Buildings for a time. But he found law less suited to his taste than his old studies, and divinity; and he soon resolved to go into Orders.

Though no one can regret the change, he had great qualifications for a lawyer: far more oratorical power than his friend Patteson, and equally great logical capacity, a considerable love of argument, notwithstanding his extreme aversion to personal controversy, and an accuracy and comprehensiveness of mind, which, with his great industry and patience, could hardly have failed to make him a judge of the highest order. Indeed after he became a bishop he was considered, though not the boldest or the fondest of law, yet the safest and best lawyer among his brethren;

and he constantly helped his clergy with legal advice, which there is no reason to believe was ever wrong. I shall have to give some instances of the soundness of his legal judgment hereafter.

He returned to King's apparently in 1814, and was tutor of the college till he vacated his fellowship by marriage in November 1815; having been just before ordained deacon at Wells on the 24th of September, and priest at Salisbury only three weeks later, viz: on the 14th of October, on his fellowship as a title. He says in one of his letters at that time that he was looking out for a curacy; but he never was a curate; for soon after his ordination he was appointed chaplain to Archbishop Sutton, who had the merit of promoting learned men; and he in a manner bequeathed him to his successor in 1828. He was also appointed in 1816 Assistant (or out-of-term) Preacher at the Temple, by Dean Rennell the Master, the father of his friend Thomas Rennell: two remarkable compliments to be paid to a man just ordained. There he preached the first sermon of the few that he ever printed, on the death of Queen Charlotte in 1818. It is stated to be published 'by desire of persons of eminent station and high authority,' and it is much above the usual standard of young men's

sermons, and is remarkable for the felicity of its allusions to the events of the time, in which I think he excelled all other preachers.

In 1820 and 1821 he appears to have been again engaged as tutor of King's, living out of college as a married man, but still coming up to London to preach at the Temple. And in those years he preached and published two courses of sermons, as Select Preacher at St. Mary's, 'On 'some popular objections to Christianity,' and 'On the testimonies of nature, reason, and reve-'lation respecting a future judgment.' The only other sermons that he could be prevailed on to publish were on the consecration of Bishop Blomfield in 1824, and of Bishop Percy in 1827. They were both highly commended at the time. One or two others preached for some of the Religious Societies were published by them. But we shall find that he once managed to evade even their usual custom in this respect.

He was also made Christian Advocate of the University in 1822, succeeding his friend Rennell in that office, but resigned it very soon. For in that same year he received the rectory of Mersham in Kent, the first of a long series of preferments, but not pluralities, from his two archbishops. But his duties as chaplain at Lambeth

required him to be so often there that he kept a house in Westminster, one in Queen Square, which is now occupied (having been enlarged) by the bishop of Bath and Wells, and previously another. His wife used to say that when they got to Mersham she supposed they were settled there for life, little anticipating the migrations they were to go through. He found it necessary to give up Mersham in 1827, and accepted a prebendal stall at Lincoln, which of course had no parochial duty. He exchanged that (not in the legal sense of the word) in May 1828 for the first canonry or precentorship of Lichfield; and that again in 1831 for a (non-residentiary) prebend of St. Paul's, which he held till he was bishop.

As canon of Lichfield he had the opportunity of making his brother Henry vicar of St. Mary's, the principal church of that city. Of him it was said by somebody, who it is to be hoped exaggerated the previous condition of the place, that 'Henry Lonsdale introduced Christianity into Lichfield.' Certain it is, that though he had not the intellectual powers and cultivation of his brother, for whom he had a profound veneration, yet his strong sense, his munificence, his truly Christian spirit, and the energy and zeal which triumphed over the paralysis of his limbs

for many of the last years of his life, made him worthy of all that is said of him by his brother in his epitaph engraved on the tower of that church, which his people rebuilt over his grave. It is a singular coincidence that the same living has lately, after two intermediate incumbencies, fallen to the bishop's second son, who was known to the clergy of England for many years as the able and judicious secretary of the National Society, and was made by his father a canon of Lichfield.

In 1827 Mr. Lonsdale was elected a fellow of Eton, the last who has not previously been a master in the school. But he resigned that also in 1828, on being presented to the rectory of St. George's Bloomsbury by Lord Lyndhurst, though he was not bound to do so, and the fellows usually hold livings, and though the parsonage of Bloomsbury then was so unfit for his children to live in that he took another house for them in the Eton Playing Fields, called the Wharf, since swept away. If any one supposes that he received this living from the Chancellor as a reward for any political support, he is mistaken; and may remember that a celebrated political divine, who had been writing and joking against Lord Lyndhurst's party all his life, tells us that he owed to that great man his first real promotion, a

canonry of Bristol. Bishop Lonsdale was no politician, though undoubtedly he was not much disposed to 'meddle with them who are given to change,' by whatever name they might be called. He used to laugh at some of his brethren, who notoriously owed their seats to political connexion, hurrying down to the House of Lords because they had received notes from the Treasury: no 'Treasury notes' from either side came to him.

In 1834 he gave up Bloomsbury, to the great regret of the parishioners, among whom were then many of the lawyers; and we shall see that they soon regained their connection with him. For a time he had no clerical duty and lived in Regent's Park. But in 1836 Archbishop Howley, to whom he was still chaplain, gave him the rectory of Southfleet near Gravesend. This and his three successive canonries were 'Options,' or assignments to the Archbishop of one presentation to some piece of episcopal patronage which used to be executed by each bishop on his consecration. I do not know that the story of their extinction has been ever told. Indeed some modern ecclesiastical law books speak of them as still existing; and also tell us that some English bishoprics require no election by the Chapter.

In the cathedral reform Act of 1840 a clause was inserted, in consequence of the alleged doings of the late dean Cockburn of York, to prohibit 'any sale or assignment of patronage' by ecclesiastics, as such. The word 'assignment' was only introduced to meet the difficulty of proving that any money had been paid. But when the present bishop of Oxford was asked to assign an option on his consecration, he (rightly enough) objected that it had been made illegal. The bishops offered to restore them by legislation, but archbishop Howley not only declined, but returned to his suffragans all the options which he had not exercised. We found our bishop's, the last which had been given, among his papers. One archbishop's options were actually sold by auction on his death; but they died with the bishop who had given them.

In January 1836 Mr. Lonsdale was elected, all but unanimously, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn; a post which, though belonging to a private chapel, has oftener led to promotion from the Crown than probably any other in the kingdom, but is a fatal one for a man who is found to have been placed in that pulpit by mistake. As a Bencher of that Society I have the satisfaction of recording that, dropping only three names, our Preachers

of the last 120 years have been, Warburton Bishop of Gloucester; Hurd of Lichfield and Coventry, who refused Canterbury; Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christchurch; and his brother William, Bishop of Oxford; Van Mildert of Durham, Lloyd of Oxford, Heber of Calcutta, Maltby of Durham, and John Lonsdale: the two last have been the present Archbishop of York, and F. C. Cook, the editor, under the archbishop, of the new commentary on the Bible, and Canon of Exeter by royal appointment. Farther back we had Archbishops Usher, Tillotson and Herring, Gastrell Bishop of Chester, Reynolds of Norwich, Richard Field, John Preston, to whom Charles I. offered the Great Seal; and Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, who preached at the consecration of the Chapel on Ascension Day 1623, though he had been then succeeded by Preston.

While our bishop was Preacher of Lincoln's Inn he was asked to allow a course of his sermons on the Lord's Prayer to be published at the cost of the Society. But his usual diffidence about the value of his own writings, and a wish to make them more perfect, led him to postpone the publication; and when he became bishop it was abandoned. We had hoped to print them here, but the publisher's experience is unfavour-

able to the printing of more than a few sermons, as specimens of the Bishop's style of preaching.

As his first clerical duty was that of preaching in the Temple Church, and he told his old Cambridge friend the present Master that the Mastership of the Temple had been the summit of his ambition, I may fitly add a word about the holders of that office. They have been appointed by the Crown since the abolition of the monastery there, and are designated in their patent, 'Master and Rector of the Temple Church.' For a century after the great name of Richard Hooker, who was Master from 1585 to 1591, there is none of consequence, except Browning the ejected Bishop of Exeter, and his successor Gauden, the real author of Icon Basilicè, who were apparently only 'Preachers' for a year each, in the days of the Puritans, 1658 and 1659. The two Sherlocks, father and son, Dean of St. Paul's, and Bishop of London, were Masters for 70 years from 1684; then, after some insignificant names, came Thurlow, Bishop of Durham, the Chancellor's brother; Pearce, Dean of Ely; Rennell, of Winchester; and Christopher Benson, one of the most celebrated preachers of his day, now a Canon of Worcester, who resigned in 1845 soon after the restoration of the church, and was

succeeded by Thomas Robinson, ex-Archdeacon of Madras, and now Canon of Rochester. There is one instance of a person, viz. the Rev. George Watts in 1771, becoming Master of the Temple after he had resigned the Preachership of Lincoln's Inn for bad health. He only lived at the Temple for a year, and is buried in the Church there; but he is not otherwise among the celebrities of either House.

Bishop Lonsdale was fond of the company of the lawyers, and his venerable face was often seen among the Benchers in the Hall of Lincoln's Inn, where he had a standing invitation. He had many friends among the Judges, but most of them are gone before him. A few months ago he lamented the loss of the excellent and amiable Lord Justice Turner; and not long before, of Sir James Knight Bruce his colleague, with whom the bishop used to enjoy literary discussions after dinner. Lord Kingsdown, another bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and one of the first of judges, died a few days before the bishop.

There was no one whose recommendation of any candidate for our clerical offices had so much weight as his: and indeed not with the lawyers only, but with electors to clerical or scholastic offices everywhere. I have known several in-

stances myself, and therefore there must be many more, where electors have at once decided in favour of 'the Bishop of Lichfield's man;' sometimes even giving more weight to his name attached to an ordinary testimonial than he intended it to carry. When he did mean to give a real recommendation he could give one in a few words which put to shame the laboured panegyrics of other men. I suppose a better than this was never written: to appreciate it fully it must be understood that for social purposes the preacher is one of the benchers:—

'The Rev. F. C. Cook is, I understand, a candidate for the preachership of Lincoln's Inn. I have no hesitation in expressing my persuasion that he is eminently qualified for the office, as a man of ability and learning, a theologian, a preacher, and a gentleman.

'J. LICHFIELD.'

I pass on to another stage of his life. Besides being always an active member of the old religious Societies, such as the National, S.P.G., S.P.C.K., and one of the founders of the 'Incorporated Society for building Churches,' he had joined Dr. D'Oyly and others in founding King's College London, which was incorporated

by Royal Charter in August 1829, for the purpose of teaching 'various branches of literature 'and science, and also the doctrines and duties of 'Christianity as the same are inculcated by the 'Church of England.' He lived to be the last original member of the Council, as he said in presiding at the annual meeting of 1867. In 1838, when Hugh James Rose the Principal fell ill, he was requested to act in his place, and when Mr. Rose died the next January, he became actual Principal and took up his abode in the college, near Somerset House. He had been asked to be the first Principal, but declined then; and Bishop Otter was the first. He says in a letter written from K.C.L. 30 Jan. 1839, to his friend Mr. Harvey, the Rector of Hornsey,—

'The unanimous and cordial expressions of the council of this college, and the advice of friends in whom I could not but place confidence, have weighed with me much in my determination, notwithstanding my misgivings, to accept the office of Principal. It may be that I have determined unwisely. All I can say is that it shall be my daily endeavour and prayer to discharge my duties here faithfully.'

Besides managing the college, the Principal

lectures in theology. The MSS. of a good many of his lectures have been found; but they are incomplete, and as far as we can judge at present, not suitable for publication. Under his wise and able rule the College flourished exceedingly. That valuable offshoot from it, the Hospital, was chiefly due to him: which is now one of the largest as well as the most central in London; and it has had an unusual number of distinguished physicians and surgeons on its staff for the time it has existed. It still however has to maintain an annual struggle for existence against the want of a permanent endowment or larger annual subscriptions.

Some special recollections of his King's College days will be found in Archdeacon Allen's letter at p. 242. He said on leaving it, and I do not know that subsequent experience altered his conclusion, that those days had been the happiest of his life. His memory is still affectionately cherished by those who were there with him and under him (see p. 169). A tablet in memory of him is to be placed on the wall of the chapel (see p. 251). He did his best, as a member of the council, to save the College from the discredit of ejecting Mr. Maurice from his two professorships at the instigation of the Principal and the Record news-

paper. Once he prevailed, against bishop Blomfield, no mean antagonist, in 1851. The second time, in 1853, by an unlucky accident he never received the notice of the meeting. But he read all the correspondence on the subject, and strongly disapproved of what was done. He did not agree with Mr. Maurice's peculiar views about the meaning of the word 'eternity,' which Dr. Jelf and bishop Blomfield and a majority of the council had no hesitation in condemning as heretical, but he considered that there was no authority for such a condemnation; and the supreme tribunal in such matters has now decided that he was, as usual, right. His feeling about that transaction cannot be better expressed than in the words of one of the most learned and sagacious of his brethren, so manifestly referring to it that it was needless to supply the names:

'Where the constitution of a college invests the governing body with despotic authority, even the publication of a metaphysical paradox may be thought to justify the removal of a teacher, however conspicuous for a rare combination of the noblest qualities of mind and heart; for genius and eloquence, for piety and virtue, for energy and devotedness to the service of God and man. But I am not sure that

the interests of such an institution are promoted by either the exercise or the possession of such a power.' *

The following letter to Mr. Harvey of Hornsey, who had just then undertaken to edit 'the Christian Remembrancer,' shows that his time was fully occupied by the preparation of his theological lectures and looking over the examination papers of the students, and the general superintendence of the college. We shall see hereafter that Archdeacon Allen, who was then Chaplain of K.C.L., speaks particularly of the care which he bestowed upon them.

'King's College London, 30 March, 1840.

'MY DEAR HARVEY,—You put me, I assure you, to great pain by renewing requests which I am under the necessity of refusing. I have no time to read new books: how can I then have time to review, or even, as you editors speak, to 'notice' them?

'Alas, I have neither means nor leisure for supplying you with a memoir of my most kind friend, and most able master, the late Provost of Eton.

'I will not fail to look at *your* first number. But I

* Appendix to the Letter of the Bishop of St. David's to Dr. Rowland Williams, Vice-Principal of Lampeter (1860), who certainly did his best to provoke bishop Thirlwall to imitate bishop Blomfield. But he wields another weapon, which executes without conferring any glories of martyrdom.

fear I shall not be able to induce the Dignitary to take in the C. R.

'The passage to which I alluded in Hallam's Literature is a beautiful one about Pascal; in which he goes out of his way to reprobate the doctrine of the corruption of human nature. But I understand he speaks crudely about Bull, and perhaps other divines.

'What an indefatigable man you are, to go to Gravesend to hear lectures on geography and return by night. Mrs. Lonsdale is at Southfleet.

'Believe me most truly yours,

'JNO. LONSDALE.'

The reference to Dr. Goodall's death in this letter aptly leads to an event which troubled Mr. Lonsdale much, as it caused a temporary estrangement between him and his beloved Eton: not indeed on his side; and with no good reason on the other. The fellows of that college have long, perhaps always, elected the nominee of the Crown as their Provost, though the Crown has no such power of nomination by the Statutes, and though the same usurpation had been successfully resisted by the fellows of King's, when no less a person than Sir Isaac Newton was presented to them for their provost by the Crown. But the Statutes require him to have been on the foundation, and to have a divinity degree (B.D.

or D.D.); which the King's men seldom take. But it so happened that Mr. Lonsdale had taken his B.D. degree in 1824. His 'Act,' or exercise in the divinity schools (see p. 53), on that occasion, and his Concio ad clerum, or Latin sermon before the University, are preserved.

When Dr. Goodall died, on 25 March 1840, the Crown, that is to say, Lord Melbourne, nominated the Rev. Francis Hodgson, vicar of Bakewell, the first Lord Denman's son-in-law, to be elected provost. But he was only an M.A.; and the college was probably not sorry to have so good an excuse for asserting its rights against the Crown, especially just then. They applied to Dr. Keate the late head-master, and to Dr. Hawtrey who was then head-master, but they both declined the provostship. Then they asked Mr. Lonsdale, who consented, and was elected. He would rather have been provost of Eton than archbishop of Canterbury. But his unwillingness to disappoint Mr. Hodgson, an old college friend, to whom the place was of consequence, led him, as he told the college, after some deliberation to decline. Meanwhile Mr. Hodgson was made B.D. at Cambridge by royal mandate, and the fellows accepted him, having no other eligible and willing candidate. It would have

been no real victory over the Crown if Mr. Lonsdale had enabled them to reject a nominee unqualified by the statutes.

An absurd appendage to the story was invented by somebody, and was repeated lately, that there was an understanding with the Crown that Mr. Lonsdale should be otherwise provided for. It is enough to answer that, if so, 'the Crown' broke its word, seeing that he was offered nothing until nearly four years after that, and then by a very different Prime Minister. When the provostship was vacant again, on Dr. Hawtrey's death in 1862, the bishop would have liked to have it; for he was then 74, and had begun to feel his always increasing work too heavy, and to talk of resigning. But he would not ask for it, and it was naturally not offered to a bishop.

His last preferment before the bishopric was the archdeaconry of Middlesex, which he took at the request of bishop Blomfield in November 1842, though it was an office of much trouble and little value, and involved the loss of his country house and rectory of Southfleet, because that is in another diocese. His legal discernment and caution were sometimes useful in correcting the proverbially hasty judgement of his superior. I remember his asking me some questions about a

letter by which his bishop proposed to settle some parochial disputes in Hertfordshire, then in the archdeaconry of Middlesex. It contained five propositions, all stated with admirable decision and clearness—and every one wrong, in either the law or the facts. As it is said in bishop Blomfield's Life that he consulted his archdeacons before delivering his unlucky charge of 1842, I must observe that Mr. Lonsdale did not become his archdeacon till after that visitation. I remember his expressing his regret that he had not been consulted before it; and he often referred to it afterwards as a warning to bishops not to attempt to settle disputed questions ex cathedrâ.

Still, notwithstanding his hasty and arbitrary disposition, bishop Blomfield was undoubtedly, in a public sense, the greatest ecclesiastic of his time: with abilities and energy of the highest order, sincere, liberal, and forgiving, sometimes under great provocation and unjust abuse. For he cultivated no arts of popularity, and his temper did not naturally conciliate it, though he made friends warmly attached to him. His great scheme of Church reform, with all its mistakes, probably saved the Church from her enemies. He would have received more credit for it if he had not unfortunately 'resolved to keep the control of the

'revenues of the see of London while he held the 'see,' though they were on the average half as much again as he pronounced enough for any successor; and the whole scheme had too much the character of gaining credit for liberality by throwing other people's dinners out of the window, according to Sydney Smith's well known apologue of the 'Synod of Dort.'

How would any of those reformers have liked to undertake the duties expected of a dean on 1000*l.* or even 1500*l.* a year? Or if the Crown in former days had taken 'London House' and given the bishop an estate in compensation for it, would bishop Blomfield have called it a 'holy in-'novation' to take away the estate too, and leave him to hire a house in London out of his reduced income? Yet that is what they did for the archbishops of York—after the then existing one, who had therefore no interest in resisting the spoliation, and was himself a commissioner for reforming the Church. A house in London is at least as necessary to an archbishop of York who is to do his duty to his province as it is to a bishop who has another within five miles. And so the northern primate, with his own vast diocese to travel over besides, is made much poorer than the bishop of London; which never was intended, and indeed was never

thought of at the time it was done; and he has only two thirds of the income of the other primate with his very small diocese. The spoliation was the more unjust because the London houses of the bishops of Winchester and Ely were left untouched.

It is fair to add that bishop Blomfield was unsparing of himself, and a munificent dispenser of his very large income; of which his son says he gave away a third. Nor did he enrich either himself or his family at the expense of the church. And yet, when he was broken down by 32 years' work, and paralysed, there were 'high church' orators in both Houses of Parliament* who thought fit to denounce as 'simony' the arrangement for his retiring on a small fraction of what he might have kept, leaving his work to be done by others, or not done at all; and this, although the full legal income was left for his successor. The mistake that was made both then, and when the Act 6 and 7 Vic. c. 62 was passed for providing partial assistance for disabled

* Such as the bishops of Exeter and Oxford and Mr. Gladstone, the first of whom is now ninety. If Bishop Blomfield had held a canonry of Durham, and of Exeter, and had lived in a house of his own, not the palace of the see, he could have resigned without an Act of Parliament to secure him a pension, and without incurring that charge of 'simony.'

bishops, was in not providing pensions for them all on complete resignation, like the judges.* This, like other wants, has been made more difficult, but by no means impossible to remedy, since the confusion of the 'episcopal fund,' or produce of all the old episcopal estates, with the 'common fund' of the Ecclesiastical Commission under the Act 13 and 14 Vic. c. 94. In like manner, after wasting untold thousands in bad bargains about bishops' palaces, the cost of substituting proper houses for others totally unfit, such as those at Lichfield and Chester, is now deducted from the fixed legal income of the bishop in whose time it has to be done.† So indeed it is for parsonages; but the value of livings is not reduced or fixed by Act of Parliament.

These things may be said to have no special reference to bishop Lonsdale. But neither he nor any other bishop made since the Ecclesiastical Commission was established, has been unaffected

* I do not forget that some of the opponents in parliament said this against the Bill for bishops Blomfield and Maltby's pensions. But the suggestion of rival schemes is only a well-understood mode of opposition. No such amendment was practically proposed, either then or afterwards.

† Their latest exploit was the selling of Stapleton House near Bristol for half of the 22,000*l.* they had given for it, and building with the proceeds a 'palace' in a low back street at Gloucester which would not sell for 3000*l.*

thereby, though it would be going into needless details to explain the relations between them. The biography of a bishop seems to me as fit an occasion as any for noticing the changes made in his time which have affected every dignitary of the Church. Moreover the frequent connexion and the occasional opposition between him and bishop Blomfield make it impossible not to speak of that prelate; and having to do so I wish to do them both justice.

James Bowstead, bishop of Lichfield, who was translated thither from Sodor and Man in January 1839, on the death of bishop Samuel Butler, the master who had made Shrewsbury school famous, had been disabled by illness nearly all the time he held the see. He died at Clifton about the 11th of October 1843; and on Sunday the 29th, when Mr. Lonsdale (he disliked being called archdeacon) was preaching in the Savoy church, since burnt down and rebuilt, the following letter was brought to him by a Treasury messenger:—

'Drayton Manor, Fazely, 28 Oct. 1843.

'REVEREND SIR,—It becomes my duty, in consequence of the death of the late Bishop of Lichfield, to submit to the Queen my advice with regard to the succession to that see.

'Being deeply impressed with the importance of the appointment to the best interests of the Church, and most anxious to secure for this extensive and populous district the services of a bishop in whose ability discretion and activity the highest confidence may be placed, I am prepared to submit your name to Her Majesty for the See of Lichfield.

'It must be needless for me to assure you that I am influenced in this decision by no other considerations than respect for your character, and conviction of your qualifications in an eminent degree for the discharge of episcopal functions; and I shall rejoice to learn that the proposal I now make is acceptable to you. 'I am, &c.

'ROBERT PEEL.

'The Rev. J. Lonsdale.'

A few years ago any hesitation to accept a bishopric was universally assumed to be a kind of orthodox hypocrisy, and people who probably did not know whether the consecration of bishops is done in Latin or English used to assert positively that at some stage of the ceremony the bishop elect had actually to say 'Nolo episcopari.' But the well known refusals of the late Professor Blunt, of the vicar of Doncaster, and of several other persons to whom this very bishopric of Lichfield has been offered, have shown even to men of the world, who are not given to believing in good

motives, that a knowledge of the duties of a bishop's life, and of its mere hard labour if those duties are truly performed, may well deter the most conscientious men from undertaking it.

Mr. Lonsdale had various reasons for hesitation, and for being unwilling to accept that bishopric at least. His natural humility and distrust of his own powers was one, and indeed at the bottom of them all. He had been too intimate with bishops to be ignorant of the work that he would have to do in what may be called the largest diocese in England, taking into account both area and population and number of clergy; and he thought himself too old to undertake it. He knew that the two last bishops had been invalids all their time there, and that for several years there had been as good as none. Moreover, the party which dexterously usurped the name of 'Evangelical' was known to be then dominant in the diocese; and he liked neither their theology nor their usual principles of action; and foresaw that struggles were impending with the opposite and rising party, to which he was no more inclined. He knew that he should have to moderate between them, and he was too modest to expect anything but the usual success of moderators, the animosity of both sides. So he withheld his answer for

several days, seeking for friends who would support his own opinion of his unfitness, and of course seeking them in vain. He consulted his Archbishop and the Bishop of London, and found that they had both advised the Prime Minister to select him.

So he unwillingly accepted; and was consecrated on the 3rd of December 1843 in his old chapel of Lambeth, by Archbishop Howley, Bishop Blomfield, and Bishop Sumner of Winchester, an old college friend, and godfather of one of his daughters. He went immediately to Eccleshall and held an ordination, and started on the work which was only to end with his life.

And then began an episcopate which will be memorable while the Church of England stands; not for any memorable single acts, but for the steady and unbroken performance of all the duties of his great office, for four and twenty years, as they had never been performed before. There have been, and there are, greater men than he was in some of his many excellent gifts. But where have we seen one man at once so wise, loving, patient, contented, laborious, kind and charitable to all men, in the widest sense of that word: so just, sincere, humble, courteous, hospitable: such a cheerful, genial, and pleasant companion:

with his learning, accuracy, and judgment; his force, persuasiveness, and elegance of speech and writing: combining so much simplicity with so much dignity: so accessible at all times to all men, and attentive to their wants: with such recollection of their characters, circumstances, and business, and such punctuality in dealing with it; and that not evasively, so as to shake off further trouble, but thoroughly and anxiously, as if it were his own: so forgetful of himself and thoughtful for others: immoveable when he had made a promise to do anything, or had made up his mind what he ought to do, but yielding almost too easily where only his own convenience was involved: such a lover of all good men and so ready to see the good in every man: such a promoter of good works: so free from all the forms of vanity, the love of public applause and the love of displaying his own cleverness: such a truly right reverend Father in God, as this John Lonsdale Bishop of Lichfield?

Either by accident or design, he had kept the following letter undestroyed, among the 300 and more which I remember he received on his elevation, from another Eton friend, the elder bishop Sumner, of Chester, grandson of a provost of King's, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

'Chester, 21 Nov. 1843.

'MY DEAR ARCHDEACON,—Addressed by me with this title for the last time, accept, not my congratulations, but the expression of my satisfaction that you are to fill the See of Lichfield, and that we are to have you as our future colleague. I did not venture to write earlier, knowing how uncertain reports are which one only hears through the public papers, but I cannot longer delay to write, though I know how many letters you must be receiving at the same time, many of them demanding an answer, which I beg you to understand that this does not.

'You have held many situations of much usefulness: but a very short experience will be sufficient to shew you that your present situation will enable you to do more in a year for the glory of God and the best interests of man than you could have done in a whole life spent elsewhere than on the Episcopal Bench. And this will repay you for the personal sacrifice which you must make, of ease, comfort, and inclination: which sacrifice happily will not take you by surprise (as may sometimes have been the case). You know to what you have been called.

'That you may long and largely enjoy the blessing which comes from communicating blessings, is the sincere prayer of

'Your affectionate and faithful Brother,

'J. B. CHESTER.

'Archdeacon Lonsdale.'

I finish this chapter with a letter to his wife, who was still at King's College.

'E. C., 7 Jan. 1844.

'MY DEAREST SOPHY,—From our hearing nothing to the contrary, I trust you keep well, notwithstanding all the trouble and work, which, I am sorry to say, fall upon you, and in which I cannot help you. I assure you I have work and responsibility enough here. I fear I was too old to take a bishoprick, at least such a bishoprick as this. On Saturday next I go to Lichfield; thence to Derby, to consecrate a church on Monday, and return here on Tuesday. I fear you have had an unpleasant business in clearing out my room. [Then come a number of minute directions about papers and keys and the like.] I should have come up this week if you had not discouraged me. This you did in your unselfishness.

'Ever, my dearest love,

'Your affectionate

'J. L.'

Note to p. 10.—I hear from the Rev. J. A. Rhodes, perhaps the only survivor of the Bishop's schoolfellows at Heath (too late to print in the text), that 'Jack Lonsdale' had none of the military ardour which then prevailed among boys as well as men; and that he was no great proficient in school sports; but that he used to make Latin verses for much older boys. Their only fault was that they were generally too good, and had to be given back to him to have some false quantities and unpoetical ideas judiciously introduced.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHIEF EVENTS OF HIS EPISCOPATE.

Bishop Lonsdale had undertaken some years before he was consecrated, at the request of the archbishop of Canterbury, the writing of Annotations on the Gospels jointly with archdeacon Hale. But his work at King's College, and in his own archdeaconry, and afterwards his episcopal work still more, delayed its publication till 1849. It was published in too large and costly a form for modern taste, but it is truly what it professes to be, a book of useful notes, and not of vapid reflections and pointless paraphrases, shirking all the real difficulties, as too many of such books do.

He regretted that his work left him so little time for reading, and less for writing anything except his letters, and occasionally a new sermon for a special purpose. Generally he had to be content with altering his old ones; and it is difficult to understand how he managed to see his way, always without hesitation, through such a

labyrinth of corrections as some of them exhibit. He was never satisfied with his work so long as he could see how it might be done better. Most of his reading had to be done in his journeys, and little of that was for his own pleasure. Besides official papers, and tracts of the Christian Knowledge Society sent to him as 'episcopal referee,' all of which he read and made notes on, he took the rare and generally needless trouble of reading something at least of the innumerable books and pamphlets that were sent to him, before he acknowledged them, if possible.

In 1847 he was made the episcopal member and chairman of the Royal Commission for inquiring into the effect of the Act of 1835, erroneously called Lord Lyndhurst's (who had proposed a very different measure), but really Bishop Blomfield's, aided by the Bishop of Exeter, for making all future marriages with wives' sisters, nieces, &c., absolutely void, as being 'contrary to the laws of God and the Church,' but all the past ones absolutely valid, instead of being voidable on a contingency which seldom happened. The Report bears unmistakeable marks of Bishop Lonsdale's hand throughout. It gives most fairly the conflicting opinions and feelings about the prohibition of such marriages, and states without reserve that

the Act had produced and must continue to produce bad and immoral consequences, and that in the opinion of the Commissioners no such legislation could do otherwise: a sufficiently striking commentary on the proposition of its authors that it was founded on the laws of God.

The Commissioners, after hearing a great deal of evidence and argument, pronounced the feeling against such marriages to be 'founded rather 'on a vague and uninformed assumption that they 'are prohibited by God's Word, than on a mature 'examination either of the Scriptures or of the 'law of the Church.' As the controversy has been asleep for some years, I may as well explain the meaning of these last words. The 'Table of prohibited degrees,' usually printed in prayer books, is no part of the legal prayer book: the Church of England has nowhere defined what degrees are prohibited by God's law: the only words about these marriages in the Bible are, in the judgment of the Commissioners, rather in favour of than against them; and there is no evidence of any such prohibition in the first three centuries.

This is not the place to discuss the question, except so far as Bishop Lonsdale was concerned in it. I therefore go on to state that when a Bill for repealing the Act of 1835 came up to the

Lords from the Commons a few years afterwards, Bishop Blomfield announced the discovery that the marriages *were* prohibited in the earliest times, by the 'Apostolical Canons:' not knowing that even Dr. Pusey had given them up as a forgery of the 4th century; and having (incredible as it seems) not even read enough of them to see that he had contrived by his own two marriages to violate every one of the four 'Apostolical Canons' which relate to matrimony, except the one he wanted for his argument. He was too honest a man to deceive the House of Lords intentionally, to say nothing of the inevitable exposure of himself: he had evidently been misled by somebody, and plunged into this double blunder with characteristic rashness.

The Bishop of Exeter was still bolder. He assured the Lords that he could prove no less surprising a proposition than that Herodias's first husband was dead before she married his brother. When his proof was published it turned out to be a mere guess of his own at a new interpretation of Josephus's account; which shows that Philip was alive, even more clearly than Matt. xiv and Mark vi. And when he published a 'Letter to the Bishop of Lichfield' on the subject in 1860, he was silent about his Herodian discovery;

which, if true, was worth more than volumes of argument about 'the opinion of the Church.' The nature of the discovery had of course been exposed. The cause of that letter was his displeasure at Bishop Lonsdale having authorised Lord Granville to tell the House of Lords that his opinion of the lawfulness of such marriages was unchanged. He tried also, with what success may be imagined, to crush one of the first Hebrew scholars in the world, the late Dr. McCaul, who had published his opinion, concurring with that of the chief Jewish Rabbi, that there is no ground in Leviticus xviii for the prohibition, but rather the contrary.

But here it must be confessed that our bishop's one infirmity—a dread of any violent public opposition, especially from the clergy, however wrong he thought them—kept him silent and absent when those Bills were introduced to repeal the Act which he had declared to be producing 'a 'great and continually increasing evil.' Archbishop Howley is quoted for saying, 'Our friend 'Lonsdale is too thin-skinned.' But no man knew better than he did the difference between reasons and excuses; such as those which were invented for keeping up the prohibition, on what are called 'social grounds,' after the theological

ground had fallen away under them, which everybody knows was the real reason of the clerical agitation by which it has been maintained. Archbishop Whately truly said that if we are to prohibit all the marriages that we think inexpedient, we should have a much longer catalogue of prohibitions than the 'Table of degrees.' Bishop Lonsdale was content with the two facts, one religious and the other social, that these marriages are not contrary to God's law, and that their prohibition only produces frequent concubinage instead of marriage. For no legislation can prevail against the practical conviction that an aunt is likely to make the best stepmother.

I have heard him astonish his clergy not a little by his opinion on another point, in which he said Bishop Blomfield agreed with him. Whenever he was driven to speak of it he said that the thing called simony by our law has no business to be called so. It might just as well be called magic; for it has no relation whatever to the sin of Simon Magus, from which it professes to be named. And he pronounced it a still greater absurdity that the buying of livings should be illegal, unless it is aggravated by being made a gambling speculation on the life of the incumbent; which again is often fraudulently evaded. It

would often be far better for the Church that an incumbent should be not only allowed, but encouraged, to retire openly on fair terms from a post which he has become unfit to hold but cannot afford to give up for nothing.

These are illustrations of a quality of the Bishop's mind not so generally known as some others, his impregnability to all arguments involving either bad logic or bad scholarship, however orthodox they might be.

The late Mr. Gunning of Cambridge, who held an office for 64 years which led him to attend the divinity schools constantly, says in his Reminiscences (ii. 322) 'John Lonsdale kept his 'exercises (for B.D. degree) in a manner superior 'to any person I ever heard,' particularly contrasting him with Rennell. 'Though he dis-'covered a fallacy in an argument quicker than 'any man I ever met with, he never answered 'an argument before he had heard it, as very 'quick men are apt to do. He discussed each 'syllogism on its own merits, and when he 'arrived at the end he disposed of the argument 'in the fewest possible words, but so completely 'that the opponent felt himself incapable of re-'joining.' This quickness in detecting bad reasoning, together with his great knowledge, made

him a severe judge of books, sermons, and speeches. Some persons who pass for great authorities with the world were rated very differently by him.

He was also appointed, and acted for a short time as chairman of the Cambridge University Commission of 1857; that is, the second commission for making or sanctioning new statutes for the University and Colleges. But he found the sittings in London interfere so much with his diocesan work that he soon resigned, and was succeeded by the other episcopal member, Bishop Graham of Chester, Clerk of the Royal Closet, a clever man, famous for his fluency of talk and contempt of correspondence.

I have mentioned at page 31 one instance in which our bishop's views of ecclesiastical law, though contrary to the almost universal impression at the time, were ultimately upheld by the supreme ecclesiastical tribunal. There has lately been another. When Doncaster church was rebuilt in 1858 after its burning down, I wanted it to be reopened without the legal part of the ceremony of consecration, which is only the signing of a deed by the bishop in the church. The Bishop of Lichfield said he saw no reason for any legal ceremony: the religious ceremony, I need hardly say, is optional, and adds nothing

to the legal one, and indeed has no authority from the law of England. The diocesan officials naturally contended for consecration, and Archbishop Musgrave naturally followed them. Bishop Lonsdale was not ignorant of the decision of a diocesan chancellor, founded on some dicta, but of only Popish authority (as the Privy Council said), that a total rebuilding, and even a removal of the altar (which the communion table is not) requires reconsecration. Those dicta have been overruled by the Privy Council in the late case of Parker v. Leach,* where a church was *nearly* all rebuilt; and it is now 'declared and enacted' by the 'churchyards consecration Act 1867,' s. 12, that all rites and ceremonies shall be as valid as before, in a church rebuilt or enlarged, without reconsecration. So it is now settled that no consecration is requisite unless there is unconsecrated ground to be added.

He once had a curious dispute with the most litigious of his brethren. A clergyman who happened to have preferment both in the diocese of Lichfield and another, was accused of drunkenness in Lichfield. Our bishop always said it was next to impossible to convict a clergyman of drunkenness, however clear the charges might

* Law Reports, Privy Council cases, vol. i. p. 319.

appear beforehand, unless he happened to have some very strong personal enemies. And he used to mention cases where bishops had spent thousands of pounds in prosecutions of that sort which had broken down, though the offences were notorious. So he promised this clergyman that he would not issue a commission under the Clergy Discipline Act, if he would go away. He did go away into his other diocese. The bishop thereof soon found out why he had come, and called on the bishop of Lichfield to proceed against him, saying (rightly enough so far) that he had nothing to do with the bargain which had been made; and he insisted that the bishop was bound to proceed, on a demand for a commission being made. He answered, by my advice, that no demand had been made by any parishioner. Still the other bishop did not give in—as he never did; but the clergyman saved further trouble by dying.

If he had not, and the other bishop had gone on, and applied for a mandamus, he would have fared as somebody did afterwards who tried to make the bishop of Chichester issue a commission. For all the Court of Queen's Bench agreed that a bishop need not do so at the demand of a stranger to the parish, and the majority decided that it is *always* discretionary. But if the com-

mission has been issued and reports that there is ground for proceeding, the bishop may be compelled to go on; as was decided in the ill-managed proceedings against archdeacon Denison; who got rid of the sentence of deprivation pronounced against him, by the technicality that the 'suit' was not begun in time (within 2 years) in consequence of that very delay.

The bishop used to complain of the defects of the modern books of ecclesiastical law, and wished for a new one written by an ecclesiastical lawyer in real practice. I sometimes got better information from him than I could find in them. I have a letter in which he had taken the trouble to write out a whole section of an Act for me, which was unnoticed in a book of reputation. If he could not answer the question offhand, he generally knew where the answer was to be found.

The most important single event of his episcopate, and the one which gave him most anxiety for a considerable time, was the establishment of the Theological College at Lichfield for training candidates for orders. The history which I deduce from a mass of papers, aided by my own recollection on some points, is this. Early in 1852 the project was started by the Rev. E. J. Edwards of

Trentham and the Rev. E. T. Codd, then of Cotes Heath near Eccleshall. It was well received, and an address was presented to the Bishop in favour of it by the Dean, Archdeacons Hodson and Hill, and some others whose names have not the significance of those two archdeacons in indicating that nothing of a 'tractarian' tendency could reasonably be apprehended, to say nothing of the Bishop's own presidency of the Council being a preliminary condition.

His opinion of it will be best given in his own words at the Visitation of 1853:

'When the proposal for establishing a theological college was put before me, after giving it the consideration which seemed to me to be due to the thing itself as well as to the proposers; and after taking counsel with those whom I felt it to be a privilege and a pleasure to have as counsellors, I gave my full consent, with their concurrence, to the circulation of the proposal throughout the diocese. I said also at the same time that I regarded this as a step in the right direction; and so I say still.' He gave the reasons for his conclusion at some length, and then proceeded: 'But apprehensions are entertained that a theological college may become a party institution. Undoubtedly it may, and probably will become such, if it be established on a party principle or conducted

'in a party spirit. But this appears to me to be only an accidental and by no means a necessary effect of such institutions. If they be founded upon the *broad, but not loose* foundation of the Church of England; if those to whom the immediate management of them is committed be imbued and actuated by her spirit of wise zeal and faithful moderation, (the natural fruits of a large acquaintance with the history, as well as the doctrines of the Church,) these institutions may well be expected to prove, not nurseries of, but safeguards against, those extreme views and courses; with which, whether on one side or the other, there is nothing congenial in the teaching of our Lord or his Apostles, particularly the Apostle St. Paul; which are found to be so injurious to the peace, and well-working, and extension of the Church; and which are continually leading to changes and reactions in those who have taken such views and courses, so remarkable that they cannot fail to be observed, and so instructive that they cannot but be profitable to calm and unprejudiced observers.'

The apprehensions here referred to, that the college might become a party institution, had been loudly expressed, and a violent opposition raised against it, by some of the party whose previous domination in the diocese had made him hesitate about accepting the bishopric. He warned the promoters from the first that that

would happen, because two other theological colleges had acquired a 'high church' character; and he knew that the party who denounced it would be content with nothing short of the control of the institution for themselves. In fact they had already demanded that the council should be elected, not by all the subscribers to the college, but by 'universal suffrage of the 'clergy,' which they thought would answer their purpose. They little knew the man they had to deal with. Archdeacon Moore, many years vicar of Eccleshall, once well said to me, pointing to the bishop's room, 'You know there are two 'men sitting there; one is a bishop who acqui-'esces in a great deal that he does not like, and 'the other is an old Yorkshireman who is never 'taken in.' He was not taken in then, and refused to sanction any such proposal, even to avoid the conflict which he too much dreaded.

His letters at this time show how deeply he was vexed by the opposition. And he undoubtedly rejoiced at the appearance of a decisive reason for postponing the scheme for a time, as he said in the aforesaid charge, in 'the inquiry addressed 'to the Bishops by the Cathedral Commissioners ''as to the propriety of applying any portion of ''the Cathedral revenues towards the maintenance ''of theological colleges.''

Accordingly it was delayed for two years more: but only for the opposition to be then resumed with more animosity than ever. Handbills were published and meetings called to consider

'What steps should be taken to oppose a scheme fraught with so much danger to the best interests of the diocese' from 'the renewed attempt to carry into effect the project of establishing a diocesan theological college, the inevitable tendency of which would be to propagate tractarianism and force it upon the diocese in its most insidious and odious shape.' *

The opponents even tried by a Bill in Chancery, filed by some subscribers whose motive for subscribing was obvious, to stop the resolutions of a general meeting of subscribers from being acted on; and their motion for an injunction was refused with costs in February 1857.

The bishop says in a letter to Mr. Harland, the Vicar of Colwich, of 3 September 1855:

'It grieves me to see that a most violent opposition to the proposed College is on foot. I have had a letter from a lay committee at Stoke upon the subject; and one in MS. [I suppose the other was printed]

* I need hardly say that this inflated kind of language, to which, by some unknown law of nature, that party is specially addicted, was offensive to the bishop's taste—except where it was so purely ridiculous that he could enjoy laughing at it.

from Mr. Hebert [a clergyman there, and plaintiff in the Chancery suit just now mentioned], in which he charges us with 'proceeding in defiance of public opinion,' and of doing what will 'convulse the diocese from one end to the other.' He also imputes to me a departure from what I said in my Charge: 'an imputation which I feel to be utterly groundless.'

Here then was a storm great enough to have intimidated a 'weak man, ready to sacrifice truth on the altar of peace,' according to a phrase which somebody of that party applied to him, in revenge for his having really sacrificed his own peace on the altar of truth. It must be confessed that he was alarmed, not for himself but for the diocese. He wished the scheme had never been started; and he said in one of his letters to Mr. Edwards, at the very time when he was publicly defending it as a good thing in itself, 'May God turn to good (though I can hardly 'hope to see it) what at present appears to be 'productive of so great an increase of our un-'happy divisions.' But he considered his faith pledged to the promoters, and at the end of another equally desponding letter he adds, 'but I 'will do nothing to stop the plan.' If he had withdrawn his name, it must have stopped, because his presidency was a condition of the sub-

scriptions. If he had shown to the opponents one of the discouraging letters (as I must needs call them) which he was writing to the promoters, it would have flown through the diocese in a week and the scheme would have been ruined. With only a little dexterous evasion he might have made it impossible to go on with it, and escaped all farther anxiety. He did none of these things, but faithfully stood by the promoters to the end. Those same desponding letters contain frequent suggestions about the appointment of a Principal, and he took the greatest pains in selecting one. He was rewarded by seeing his fears not realized, and the College risen into the most flourishing of all such institutions, and its opponents silenced by its success and its freedom from all taint of partisanship. After describing its condition and its work in his last Charge he says, 'The College then is no failure; 'and its results are before the world.'

Before leaving this subject I select one of his many letters about it, to illustrate a feature of his character which I have several times spoken of. I must prefix that to which it is an answer.

'Trentham, 12 Feb. 1853.

'MY LORD,—Mr. Codd and I learn from Archdeacon Hodson's letter to Mr. Bishop [who acted for the

opponents of the college], Feb. 7, which appears in the 'Advertiser' of to-day, that you have deemed it right to suspend for a while the project of the Theological College. Nothing can persuade us that it could have been your Lordship's wish that we should receive this intimation for the first time through the columns of the county paper.

'I remain, &c.

'E. J. EDWARDS.'

'The Abnalls, Lichfield, 14 Feb. 1853.

'MY DEAR MR. EDWARDS,—I would have answered your note by return of post had it been in my power, but I did not receive it till &c. . . . .

'I cannot tell you how much it has vexed me. Nothing could be further from my feelings or thoughts than to offer anything like disrespect, or any sort of slight, to you or Mr. Codd. And this I hope you will believe from my whole conduct, at least generally.

'That there appears to be ground of complaint, nay I will say that there *is*, in the matter about which you have written to me, I freely confess, and *am truly sorry for it, and I heartily ask your and Mr. Codd's pardon.*

'The excuse which I have to offer is this [then he explains at considerable length how the Archdeacon's letter came to be written and sent when it was]. But strange (though I hope not incredible) as it may seem

to you, it never occurred to me that you would learn what had been done from a newspaper before you heard from me by to-morrow's post. The same reason which prevented me from writing to you has prevented me from writing to Mr. Codd too.

'Believe me, &c.

'J. LICHFIELD.'

The bishop's interest in education was by no means confined to that of the clergy. Education of children was perhaps the one object to which he gave the most attention, as fundamental to every other scheme of religious improvement. In London, both before and after he was bishop, he was an active member of the committee of the National Society, and also of the affiliated institutions for training schoolmasters and mistresses at Battersea and Whitelands. In 1848 a diocesan training school for schoolmistresses was established at Derby, and opened in 1853. He had to mediate between two parties who disputed whether it should be there or at Lichfield, and always took a warm interest in it. He presided at the examinations annually, and did so for the last time the week before he died.

There was already a training school for masters at Lichfield, and there also he used to attend both

the examinations and the meetings of the committee, and subscribed 50*l.* a year to it. In 1853 there was a project for extending it and erecting new buildings near the palace at Lichfield, for which he offered a site; but that project was abandoned, and in 1861 it was proposed instead, and ultimately arranged, that the training school of the diocese of Worcester at Saltley near Birmingham should be extended to the dioceses of Lichfield and Hereford. He took an active part in the discussions and arrangements for that purpose, and transferred his subscription to the amalgamated institution.

He organised a system of diocesan inspection of parochial schools through the Rural Deans, and had abstracts of the inspectors' reports sent to him, and examined them carefully; so that he knew the educational condition of every parish. He often gave the prizes of local associations for keeping children at school and for maintaining night schools, and in 1867 he gave away the prizes to the children assembled at Lichfield from all parts of the diocese who had passed good examinations in religious knowledge.

He was not ignorant that some of the results of education are not encouraging: that such education as is given to the poor often appears to breed

the fruits spoken of by the Scotch judge who is quoted at p. 17: that the power of reading is often employed on mischievous rather than profitable reading; and that religious tracts, or science, or even innocent books of entertainment, cannot compete against immoral novels and infidel or revolutionary newspapers. But he would reply that all this only proves that education does not differ from all other gifts in being liable to be turned to bad uses; but that it is none the less on that account essential to all real improvement of mankind. It was not of the poor, who were in no danger of being misled by reading 120 years ago, but of the rich, that the far-seeing prelate mentioned in the first page of this book said that no time is more wasted than much of that which is spent in reading; which is certainly not less true now than it was in his time.

The giving of new Statutes to a Cathedral, chiefly for the regulation of the Vicars Choral, clerical and lay, is not a very great event; but it is not always easy to persuade the members of a Corporation that they ought to submit to new regulations. The Dean and Chapter of Lichfield drew up and proposed such Statutes to the Bishop in 1862, which must formally proceed from him

and be accepted by the Chapter, and the Vicars, who in that and some other cathedrals are a separate corporation. The Chapter had intended to submit the new statutes to the Vicars for their consent; which indeed was legally required. But the bishop desired that to be done before he considered them. As I wrote the Preamble to the Statutes for him, I know that this gracious act of his was thankfully acknowleged by the Vicars, and doubtless made them more willing to accept the new provisions, with a few alterations which were arranged between them and the Chapter. And 'Bishop Lonsdale's statutes' were formally promulgated in the Chapter House, sealed by the Bishop, the Great Chapter (which includes the honorary canons*) and the corporation of the Vicars Choral, on the 6th of March 1863.

In 1865 he gave his hearty support both by money and public advocacy to an association at Derby for providing trained nurses for the diocese.

* More accurately, the non-residentiary prebendaries whose prebends are 'suspended.' 'Honorary canons' belong only to the 16 Cathedrals where there were no non-residentiaries before 1840. The disendowed canons have happily acquired some compensation for the loss of their incomes by being now generally designated by that title; which they never were in the days when the title was the least important part of a prebendal stall. But their dignity is now in danger of an aggression from below, for minor canons—or their friends—are beginning to drop the adjective of inferiority.

That also was opposed by the same party as the College, and gave an opportunity to the Bishop of showing how well he could control opponents who transgressed the order of a public meeting. They seem to have apprehended that this was to be a 'Sisterhood' of ladies who rechristen themselves 'Sister Ursula' instead of Jane Smith, and imitate nuns by going about in ugly and fantastic dresses, and declare that 'their spiritual wants 'cannot be satisfied without a high ceremonial,' and desert their own sick fathers and mothers to obey a woman whom they call the Mother Superior. The bishop would have supported no such association as that. He once went with his usual kindness to see a lady who had left the diocese to enter one of these institutions in London; but he said to his daughter, 'I am not 'going to ask for Sister Maria, as she calls her-'self; I shall ask for Miss Smith' (let us say). He thoroughly despised nonsense, and knew that it generally covers something more. He used to express his astonishment at clergymen emptying their churches of their proper congregations, enraging their parishioners, and encouraging dissent, for the pleasure of wearing coloured silks, and imitating Popish ceremonies, or inventing new ones of their own; whether they meant nothing, or

were intended to 'symbolise a sacramental theory,' which he, at any rate, entirely disbelieved in.

The disposal of a bishop's patronage is one of the most critical tests of his impartiality, judgment, and firmness. A thorough-going partisan has easy work of it. In every appointment that he makes he gratifies his own feelings, and is sure of the applause of the only people whose opinion he cares about or listens to. He is too short-sighted to perceive that by every appointment made on that ground only he is undermining his cause in the long run, not advancing it as he supposes. Every now and then indeed some flagrant instance of the kind opens the eyes of the blindest partisans to this; but they only regard it as a piece of bad luck. Bishop Lonsdale's impartiality has been so unanimously testified that I may well leave it on the testimony of universal consent: which indeed is better than attempting to prove it by examples, since that would involve the assignment of some persons to a party which they may now wish to disclaim.

I do not mean that his impartiality ever led him to promote men of very extreme opinions: for he considered all such opinions mischievous in themselves and tending to division—the great evil

always before his eyes. He did 'mark them which cause divisions.' Where he found such men in possession he made the best of them: often saying that such a person was 'a capital man' (a favourite phrase of his), but it was a pity he was such a high or low churchman, as the case might be. He said to one of his Rural Deans, of a low-church clergyman to whom he had given a living, 'I am not placed here to be the bishop 'of the high church, or of the low church. It is 'my duty to look with equal eyes upon all who do 'their work heartily and well *within the fair limits 'of the Church of England.*'

The disposal of his patronage was the subject on which he was most immoveable. I remember his being strongly urged to make a certain cathedral appointment for reasons which he admitted were good ones, and nobody could have objected to it. He would have liked himself to make it for those reasons: but he had one reason of his own the other way, and he refused. People may have thought some of his appointments not so good as they could have made themselves, and they may have been right. But so long as the appointment that is made turns out well, it is hardly possible to affirm with confidence that one which is not made would have been the right

one. I believe his appointments turned out almost invariably well; and no wonder; for he never gave preferment except to clergymen whom he knew thoroughly as having already worked in the diocese (of which I have more to say presently); and his knowledge and recollection of the name and character and condition of every clergyman in the diocese were a matter of continual surprise.

He was never influenced by memorials from parishioners, asking that the vacant living might be given to the curate. He used to say he knew the value of such things too well. I do not say that such a memorial would stop his doing what he otherwise intended; but they certainly did not move him in that direction. We burnt a very long one, which had not influenced him, among his 23 years' letters.

He once told me that he had resisted very strong importunities from a nobleman to present a certain curate to a living in his neighbourhood. He had no particular objection to the curate, but he had made up his mind to give the living to another, of whom he had long had a very high opinion; and he did so. After a time the nobleman wrote to express his satisfaction that his request had been disregarded. A bill in Chancery

was once filed against him and some other trustees, nominally and technically to prevent them from appointing to St. Mary's Shrewsbury any one except the son of a burgess of the town, educated at Shrewsbury school; really, to compel them to appoint the plaintiff in the suit; who succeeded, —as he thought. The trustees were advised by very high authority that the Vice-chancellor's decision in his favour was wrong, and I know that was also the general opinion of the Bar who heard the case argued. But the result of an appeal was uncertain, and there are legal reasons for trustees being seldom advised to appeal in matters of that kind. They were satisfied however that the plaintiff was not the proper man for the place, and they (that is probably the bishop) persuaded another Shrewsbury man to take the living, who had previously declined.

It may be remembered that a clergyman who had been elected by the parishioners, in one of the parishes subject to that curse, was convicted of embezzling the money of a savings' bank and imprisoned for two years; in consequence, it was said, of pecuniary difficulties caused by the expenses of his election. The bishop could have made the living vacant by certain legal proceedings; and he was strongly urged to do so. Primâ

facie every one would say it was desirable. But he would not: partly because he thought the punishment inflicted by the criminal law was enough; and partly to avoid the evil of another election of a clergyman by household suffrage. The scandal of that election caused an Act to be passed for allowing, but unfortunately not compelling, such livings to be sold and the proceeds applied for the benefit of the parish. He told me lately that the love of electioneering and the 'public house interest' had prevailed as yet in every parish in England where the clergyman is so elected, and that not one such living had been sold; and they are not so few as most people suppose.

Next to that mode of patronage he thought vesting it in trustees the worst, as it is nearly always done for the very purpose which he abhorred most of all, of forcing upon a parish for ever clergymen of some extreme opinions: or else, as I find him complaining in a letter, it sinks into a job; or into the adoption of a candidate who has some showy qualities but may be totally unfit for the place; though of course such results are not invariable. 'O, it's a Simeon's trustee place,' was not an uncommon answer of his, and was significant enough of what he thought of such

trusts, even to those who did not know it otherwise.

But I must say a word, for the warning of younger men, about the rule which he declared very early that he should hold inviolable, to give no preferment of his own to any one who had not already done some work in the diocese. I know that this was mentioned and applauded at the Wolverhampton congress; but the applause of a meeting does not alter facts. I had ventured long ago, as an independent layman, to predict that he would some day find the evil of that self-denying ordinance. And he lived to find himself having to recommend to another patron, and learning just before he died that he had recommended in vain, a clergyman whom he had known long and well, and highly esteemed; but whom his own rule prevented him from promoting, because he had only been in a parish which touched the boundary of the diocese on the wrong side, besides having practically had the management for five years of one of the most important parishes in London on the bishop's own recommendation.

I have heard of other general rules imposed by bishops on their own discretion; forgetting that general rules are made in the dark, and that discretion ought to be exercised in the light of the

facts of each case. Bishops, no less than smaller people, may remember that the worst, and not the best reason a man can give for anything which is not the best that could be done in the actual circumstances, is that it is prescribed by a rule made by himself: for the result has proved that he had no business, as he certainly had no need, so to preclude himself from doing right.

Bishop Lonsdale was free from the weakness—rare indeed but not unknown—of treating his own family worse than others in the disposal of his patronage; a miserable piece of cowardice. It is not his fault that his eldest son, who was one of his examining chaplains throughout his episcopate, to say nothing of his well-earned fame elsewhere, has no preferment. His second son had been a curate in the diocese, besides being secretary of the National Society for some years, before his father offered him a canonry, one of the poorest in England. His clerical son-in-law, the father of his three grandsons before mentioned, had held a small incumbency in Shropshire before he gave him the living of Tarvin near Chester; which has been since transferred to the bishop of that diocese by the Ecclesiastical Commission, while the bishop of Lichfield has got a living in the diocese of Lincoln instead.

He published none of his Visitation Charges; and scarcely ever touched upon what are called 'the great questions of the day' in them. Such subjects are generally controversial; and he abhorred controversy. Neither would his modesty allow him to believe that he was one of the very few prelates whose judgement carried any weight; not of course with partisans, who only want to hear their own opinions echoed from a bishop's seat, but with those who want a guide, whose wisdom and learning and honesty and moderation they can trust. His Charges were therefore generally confined to matters of diocesan interest, with a few short allusions to any public measures which concerned the Church.

In 1861 I see that he remarked on some defects of the 'Revised Code,' by which the Privy Council grants to schools were to be regulated, which withdrew all encouragement to religious education; because the 'results' to which the payment was to be proportioned were only 'proficiency in 'reading, writing, and arithmetic,' and the Inspectors were only to report thereon. On that point there was little division of opinion among the clergy; although it was full time that some alteration should be made in the terms on which schoolmasters were paid, and in the position they

were assuming; and that payment should bear some relation to the work done. But the Privy Council seems chronically unhappy in its relations with those on whom the responsibility and trouble of school management practically falls. And the permanence of these unhappy relations proves that they are not (as was once supposed) entirely the fault of the particular Vice-President under whom the revised code came in, but of a more permanent and invisible authority. Already the builders of large and costly schools have learnt to consider the grants which they might get from the Privy Council too dear to purchase at the price of being controlled by the dictation of an irresponsible official, who calls himself 'My Lords,' and arbitrarily dictates one form of building or arrangement this year, and perhaps a different one the next, and both very likely worse than other people's experience suggests or local circumstances prescribe; for grants are refused even where it is physically impossible to satisfy these arbitrary requirements. I know of two such cases as these within 7 miles. It is time that this tyranny should be put down; to which end exposure is the first step.

On one very important point the bishop agreed with the Privy Council; for I have heard him

advise his clergy never to insist on the learning of the Catechism as a condition of children whose parents object to it being received into their schools.

In that same Charge of 1861 he had to speak of the rejection of a Bill for abolishing Church rates by the Speaker's casting vote. After stating some of the well-known arguments on the subject he says:

'I have no hesitation therefore in avowing myself to be one of those who would be thankful for a legislative measure, which, while it would secure to the Church her indisputable and immemorial right of raising rates for the sustentation of her fabrics and the maintenance of her services, would exempt (expressly or virtually) those who do not belong to her communion from contributing to them; and thus take away from them all reasonable ground of complaint on this account.'

The last Charge he delivered, in 1865,* which he began by saying he had not expected at his last visitation 'to be permitted to meet his clergy so again,' is the only one which treats of any theological question at much length. It will be neither uninteresting nor unprofitable to set forth

* By the custom of the diocese of Lichfield Visitations are quadrennial; not triennial, as in most dioceses.

his opinions, and the reasons for them, on the two allied subjects of Scepticism and the Inspiration of the Bible, as delivered in that Charge.

'It has been said, with relation to these our days, that Christianity is on its trial. This is true: but it is no new truth. Christianity has been on its trial ever since it first appeared in the world. It was subjected first to a material, and then to an intellectual and moral trial; a cruel trial once, and a subtle trial afterwards. And to this last-mentioned trial it will continue to be subjected, so long as Christ's Church shall be 'militant here on earth.' How it has come forth from its varied trials of 18 centuries we know; and as to the issue of its future trials we have no fears. But while the body lives many of its members may die; so many, that 'the life of faith' may remain only in a few. . . . . What the fruits of this would be we know too well. Full of sad truth are the words of Barrow, 'If the causes of all the sin and all the mis-'chief in the world were carefully sought, we should 'find the chief of all to be infidelity, either total or 'gradual.' . . . .

Scepticism is nothing new. It is founded on the right which men have to inquire; and this right being admitted, no sufficient reason can be given why it should not be exercised, and that too openly, provided that the exercise of it be modest and temperate.

It is upon the whole better that scepticism should speak out. An open foe is less dangerous than a hidden one. Truth must prevail in the end. This view of the case, in accordance as it is with reason, and with our love of truth, is confirmed to us by the highest authority. As the religion of Christ, being addressed to reasonable beings, is a reasonable religion, and one that requires from its adherents a 'reasonable service,' so it has, from the very beginning, claimed to be received upon reasonable evidence of its having come from God. Our Lord appealed both to the understandings and to the senses of his hearers.

Every intelligent and well educated Christian, and especially every Minister of the Church in these days of knowledge, widely spread, and therefore superficial knowledge, ought, according to an Apostle's precept, to 'be ready always to give an answer,' on fitting occasions, to every one that 'asketh him a reason of the hope that is in him.' I do not mean that we must all be prepared to answer at once every particular objection which the unbeliever may advance. It is of the general grounds upon which our faith rests that I now speak; and this, as it seems to me, we should be ready and able to maintain; and that too, as St. Peter says, against 'every one,' for the challenge may come from a quarter whence we least expect it. Within my own parochial experience I have known

it to come, more than once, from persons belonging to the class who get their daily bread by the labour of their hands. We should be prepared, at least, to show that Christianity cannot be rejected without doing manifest violence to reason, and setting aside the acknowledged laws of evidence; in a word—and this is the main point—that the difficulties of unbelief are greater than those of belief.

How hard, for example, is it to believe that Christianity, brought as it was into existence, and for a long time fostered by the weakest human instruments, and having had to contend with the mightiest opposition, could now, after the lapse of more than 1800 years, be the most influential power in the world, if it were nothing more than an idle tale or a wicked imposture.

But the readiness and ability thus required of us must be the result of knowledge; and knowledge cannot be acquired without study. A clergyman, if he would meet the requirements of his office, must be more or less a student, and one object of his study should be to make himself sufficiently master of the reasons by which assurance may be given that neither his preaching nor his hearers' faith is vain. As on all religious subjects, so on this, to which indeed they must all be referred, he should be before and not behind his flock. He should prove himself qualified to be their instructor as well as their example, their prophet, if I may so speak, as well as their priest.

Nearly akin to this subject, and intimately connected with it, is another which has been much discussed of late, and which has caused uneasiness to many believers—the question of the Inspiration of the Scriptures. Our faith does not come to us as the faith of the first believers came to them—from hearing or from seeing; it comes to us upon written assurance. Unless therefore that written assurance is guaranteed to us by divine authority, we can have no reasonable expectation of the blessing declared to belong to 'them that have not seen and yet have believed.' There are two questions relating to this subject as to which it is of exceeding importance that we should be satisfied ourselves, and be able to satisfy others: the first, whether the books which we include in the Canon of Scripture were written under an inspiration of God peculiarly their own; the second, what is the extent of that inspiration.

It has been maintained that the writers of Scripture are not inspired otherwise than as men of genius, men endued with extraordinary powers of conception or expression, great poets or orators, are said to be inspired, or in any higher sense than that in which Cicero said (and it was a noble saying for a heathen) that 'no man was ever a great man without some divine inspiration.'

If this be so, that quality of the Scriptures which causes us to distinguish them by the title the Scrip-

tures, the Bible, the Book of Books, is gone. They are indeed no longer the Holy Scripture, in a sense in which the epithet may not be applied to other productions. The divine Teacher himself no longer speaks to us 'as never man spake:' he ceases to teach 'as one having authority and not as the Scribes.' We may learn of him or not, we may hear or forbear, as may seem to us best.

Let us see then how this matter stands in respect to the claim to special divine inspirations advanced by the writers themselves.

And first with regard to the writers of the Old Testament. I have no need to remind you how often Moses declares that he received commandments and instructions directly from God; or how plainly David says 'the Spirit of the Lord spake by him, and that the Lord's word was in his tongue;' or how continual the language of the Prophets, especially of the greater Prophets, is 'Thus saith the Lord;' 'The word of the Lord came unto me;' 'Hear ye the word of the Lord.'

To which inspiration of the writers of the Old Testament unequivocal witness is borne by those of the New, when they say that 'God at sundry times and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets:' that 'prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.'

That 'the spirit of Christ was in those prophets when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow;' and yet more broadly, that 'All Scripture—these Scriptures, that is to say, of the Old Testament—is given by inspiration of God.'

I advert to this last passage the rather because (as you know) it has been otherwise rendered, and an attempt to weaken its force has been made thereby. I have no doubt as to the preferableness of our own translation; but if even the other were adopted, the Apostle's declaration, that (some) Scripture, the Scripture of the Old Testament, is given by inspiration of God, would remain untouched.* Not less directly to our purpose is the fact that in several instances sayings of the Old Testament when quoted in the New are referred to as spoken not by the writers whose names they bear, but 'by the Holy Ghost.'

But when we are upon the subject of the inspiration of the Old Testament no testimony can be so great, so conclusive, as that of our blessed Lord. We find him referring his hearers to them as witnesses of unquestionable authority. He calls parts of them the

* It may not be known to merely English readers that the rival translation inserts the word *is* (which is omitted in the original, according to the Greek idiom) after, instead of before θεόπνευστος (God-inspired); and thus makes St. Paul write this pointless assertion, 'All God-inspired Scripture is *also* profitable, &c.' (2 Tim. iv. 16). But even that would assert that there is such a thing as inspiration of the Scriptures.

commandment of God, the word of God, the Scripture that cannot be broken, which testified of him, and which he came to fulfil. It is impossible to reconcile a denial of the inspiration of the O. T. with these and other such sayings of the Lord Jesus. That the question of the authority of the O. T. has (as might be expected) difficulties of its own belonging to it, and that these have of late been strongly and particularly brought out, you know. You know also that most, if not all, of the objections based upon them have received particular and sufficient answers from Jewish as well as from Christian pens. But even if we were to admit that they cannot all be so answered, this should be no stumbling block to our faith.

Difficulties arising out of parts of the O. T. can never unsettle the general foundation of truth upon which, as a whole, it rests. Nor must we ever forget that the credibility of the former division of the sacred volume is inseparably bound up with that of the latter. We cannot admit the inspiration of the New Testament and reject that of the Old. They occupy common ground and must stand or fall together.

But it is of the writers of the New Testament more particularly that it has been contended that they do not claim any direct inspiration for themselves. If this were so, those of them at least who were attendants

upon the ministry of their Lord would shew a great want of confidence in his promise to them that the Spirit of truth, whom he 'would send unto them from the Father, should guide them into all truth;' and again, that it should not be they that should speak, but the Spirit of their Father, the Holy Ghost.

Of the general fulfilment of this promise we have a clear record in the Acts of the Apostles: where the first preachers of the Gospel are represented as men 'filled with the Holy Ghost;' and as on several occasions, receiving illumination, and direction, and encouragement, directly from Heaven.

In respect however of the Apostolical Epistles especially, it is asserted that the authors of them do not profess to write under divine Inspiration. We may well wonder at the assertion when we call to mind sayings of the Apostle Paul such as these, 'We speak not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth,' or, 'He that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit;' or again, 'For this cause thank we God without ceasing, because, when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually worketh also in them that believe.' It is worthy of particular notice also, that while, in one chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians St. Paul says, 'If any

think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord,' in another chapter of the same Epistle he clearly distinguishes between what he says from himself, and what he says from the Lord.

Well then, we find the Apostles expressly claiming a supernatural and divine inspiration for themselves, and we freely admit the claim. We admit it not only because they cannot, with any show of reason, be regarded as impostors on the one hand, or fanatics on the other; but also because it is strongly confirmed by the character of their writings, manifestly treating, as they do, of subjects far beyond the reach of merely human knowledge or conception, and wonderfully as they have fed the Church of Christ with heavenly food, from the days in which they were first given to it until now.

What then, it is natural and important to ask, was the influence of the Spirit of God upon the writers of Holy Scripture? In what sense were they, as St. John speaks in the Revelation, 'in the Spirit'? We would reverently answer the question thus:—The work of the Holy Ghost upon these writers was to direct them in the employment of their natural gifts and characters, so that they should write, each in his own manner, the things which the Spirit would have them write for the instruction and edification of the

Church. It is still St. Paul and St. Peter and St. John that speak to us, but it is God that speaks to us through them. In one sense it is man's word, in another it is God that we hear from them: much as St. Paul, speaking of his new life in Christ, says 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.'

There are then, if we may so speak, two elements in Holy Scripture: the human and the divine. To the human element belong the style and manner of its several parts, and these vary with the natural qualities and characters of the writers. The style of the Proverbs is not such as that of the Psalms; nor is the manner of the Epistles of St. John or St. James such as that of the Epistles of St. Paul. To the divine element belongs the substance of the teaching. And this is substantially the same through whomsoever it is communicated.

Again, so far as the human element went, these writers were in conformity with the ages in which they lived. By the divine element they were raised above their own times and belonged to all times. Where the divine element ends and the human begins, we cannot determine; nor is it necessary for the purpose of our Christian life that we should. That these two elements are undistinguishably mixed together in the sacred volume should not be 'counted as a strange thing,' for it is quite in keeping with other things in religion. It is analogous to the great

truth that it is 'God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure;' while, in the very same sentence, we are commanded to 'work out our own salvation.' It is analogous also to the established constitution and course of nature, or to speak more correctly, of God's moral government of the world, where God and man work together in a way which our dark seeing cannot discern, but with an effect of which religious and good men know and feel the reality.

It may possibly be said that there is nothing very new in all this. The bishop would have replied that he should be sorry if there were. He did not believe in discoveries in religion, any more than in 'developements of doctrine,' or in that newly-invented Christianity which takes delight in discarding and treating with scorn all the received evidences of religion, and yet professes to believe, on some transcendental grounds beyond the understanding of ordinary men, that Christianity is not wholly an imposture, or the Bible quite on a level with the Koran or the book of Mormon, or Homer and Shakspeare, though a great deal of it is (in the opinion of these Christians) no better than a forgery.

Moreover it must be remembered that the clergy whom a bishop addresses at a visitation

cannot be supposed to be familiar with every argument that has been advanced before. Even if they are, it is convenient to have at least one class of reasons gathered up for them, as it were into a quiver, by a master such as this.

If it be said that he has left the objections of avowed infidelity to the inspiration of the Scriptures untouched, he would have answered that he was not addressing infidels, but those who necessarily—or at any rate presumably, profess a general belief in them, if nothing more, and in the divine authority of our Lord; perhaps we may still say, in his infallibility, though we know there is a bishop who has found it logically necessary to deny even that in order to maintain his other theories. And our bishop was pointing out to his clergy that there is really no middle course between accepting the substantial, though not verbal inspiration of the Bible, and a substantial rejection of the Word of God, in both senses of that phrase.

He has left a few words on this subject, of our Lord's alleged ignorance, in a letter to Mr. Harvey:

'Like Benson [formerly Master of the Temple], I do not see how we can interpret Mark xiii. 32 otherwise than literally [But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither

the Son, but the Father]. We must leave the mystery as we find it. But there is no parallel whatever between this and our Lord's 'ignorance,' imputed to him by Colenso, of the author of the Pentateuch; or rather, of his being in positive error when he said that Moses wrote it.'

As I am referring to that letter I go on to quote what he says on a different, but by no means unimportant question.

'I hope I am as good a protestant as Benson; for I have very strong feelings and opinions as to the false doctrines and superstition and imposture of Popery. It is not well that we should have well nigh given up the use of the old name, for it is expressive of the thing, especially in days when Popes establish new doctrines. Words are not only expressive of opinions and feelings, but they lead men to form opinions and to have feelings in matters of grave moment. . . . . But I do not think the Church of England generally is declining into 'ceremonialism,' certainly not into submission to 'priestly authority,' except in the case of some 'silly women led captive.'

'Yours &c.

'J. LICHFIELD.'

CHAPTER III.

HIS GENERAL WORK AND CORRESPONDENCE.

AS I said at the beginning, our bishop did not take much part in the proceedings of Convocation. His thoroughly practical mind knew full well, and one of his letters (not otherwise material to print) says so, that the revival of any power of legislation there, even as to the clergy, was not to be expected; and he took little interest in mere debates. If he happened to be in London when the convocation met, he thought it his duty to attend sometimes; and when he was there he would not sit still and acquiesce in what he disapproved. He did his best to save that body from involving themselves in a difficulty by answering some of the Bishop of Capetown's questions as to what the church of England would do in certain contingencies—as if the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury could pledge the Church of England to do anything in any contingency.

Much as he disapproved of the bishop of Natal's acts and writings, he warned the Convocation against passing extreme resolutions against him. And though his judgment was not asked for about the scheme for consecrating a rival bishop, any one who cared to know it had no difficulty in learning that nothing could be more contrary to his views than setting up two bishops really to fight for the same see, by whatever titles they might be designated. I never heard him condemn the language of any of his brethren so strongly as he did the speech of a distinguished colonial bishop on the side of bishop Gray at the Lambeth or 'Pan-Anglican' Congress.

On the other hand he did not forget that no decision has been given, in either of bishop Colenso's lawsuits, in favour of the lawfulness of his doctrines for one who still professes to belong to the Church of England; and that he has avowed in one of his books that he himself considered his doctrines so contrary to those of the Church that he should have resigned his bishopric but for the decision on 'Essays and Reviews,' brought about by the strange proceedings of another bishop; who engaged in a prosecution which he resolved at the same time, contrary to all advice, to conduct so as to give

his opponents every chance of beating him; forgetting that if he fought at all he was fighting for the Church and not for himself.

But though our Bishop seldom spoke in public on theological questions, he had occasionally to deal with them in correspondence: sometimes, with clergymen whose extreme opinions he tried to moderate; and sometimes with those who consulted him on difficulties of their own about the Prayer book, and whom he spared no pains to satisfy. Occasionally he appears to have succeeded, for a time at least; but I am afraid such labour is generally thrown away in the end, and that one whose scruples survive his own reading of books is not likely to be permanently convinced by the ablest correspondent. Before giving a few out of a batch of letters of the latter kind, which have been sent to us (of course none of the former have been) I insert two others, which rather relate to the questions discussed in the charge quoted in the last chapter. The first is a letter to the Dowager Lady Hatherton, formerly Mrs. Davenport.

'Lichfield, 21 March 1851.

'MY DEAR MRS. DAVENPORT,— . . . . I have read the number of *The Reasoner*, which I return: though I have little leisure for such, or any reading. The

thoughts which it has awakened in me, and the consideration of the number of readers which such publications have in our great towns, are anything but comfortable. For though I am by no means disposed to think hardly of those who hold such opinions, as though they were not held honestly and in the love of truth (which used to be imputed to them en masse without scruple), I do not see to what such publications as the Reasoner can tend but a complete unfixedness of views and opinions.

'These men cannot settle without Revelation questions which the great and honest reasoners of antiquity could not settle. And they must, according to Milton's often quoted line, 'find no end, in wandering mazes lost.' But I must not occupy your time with such observations as these.

'Believe me &c.

'J. LICHFIELD.'

Obvious as that remark is—when it has been made—that without Revelation we can know no more of spiritual things than the reasoners of antiquity, how few of the spiritual reformers of these times remember it. I was assured the other day by one of them that 'the tyrants of the age are the letter of the Bible and the doctrine of the Atonement,' and that he 'preached the love of God and man as the only true religion.' So did some

One else. But without 'the letter of the Bible,' and therefore the doctrine of the Atonement, how would that preacher against their 'tyranny' have ever known that there was any love of God, or any God at all, more than Cicero or 'the men of Athens'? Profane no less than sacred history testifies that 'the world by wisdom knew not God.'

'27 Conduit Street, 10 July 1856.

'MY DEAR HARVEY,—Thanks for your kind note. It is very pleasant to find that Le Bas * has not lost his fun, but is still, not kicking, but prancing, as playfully as ever. I have a real respect for him.

'Mr. Macnaught's attack on the inspiration of the Scriptures will probably pass away as other such attacks have done, and do little harm. There is, if I may so speak, a kind of instinctive feeling in serious readers of Scripture, which will not allow them to regard its inspiration as no more than that of Homer or Shakspeare.

'Nevertheless if you can find an able man to answer Mr. M. it will be well. But the subject has been dealt with by certain persons upon ground that appears to me quite untenable, and to lay us open to the infidel's attacks. . . . . .

'J. LICHFIELD.'

* The Rev. C. W. Le Bas, formerly Principal of Hayleybury College, who must then have been not far from eighty. The same might certainly be said of the bishop when he was quite as old.

I do not know what books he alluded to in the last sentence of this letter: probably to some of the injudicious assertions of the 'verbal inspiration' of the Bible, going far beyond the kind of inspiration claimed for it in the Charge just now quoted, and inconsistent with the fact of an enormous number of different readings: though, as he used to remark, there is no instance of a variation of reading by which any doctrinal question is affected. It is hardly necessary to say that he agreed with all scholars worth naming in considering the verse 1 John v. 7 spurious, but at the same time wholly unimportant as to the doctrine of the Trinity.

I am requested by one of his friends to mention that he sometimes said that many verses in the New Testament (the Old he could not judge of for himself) might be translated so as to give the meaning of the original more exactly than they do in our version; therein agreeing with the archbishop of Dublin, whose book on that subject he had read. And as an abstract proposition, I suppose this is undisputed, though the archbishop warns us that many of the alleged errors are only errors of modern half educated readers, not of the old translators. But it must not be concluded that the bishop was prepared to run the risks of trusting

the English Bible to a committee of retranslation. It did not need his critical and refined taste in English composition to recognise the fact that the art which was possessed by the men who did that work has perished. That edifice, like the more material edifices of still earlier times, may be pulled down and replaced by another, with stones more accurately worked—and with all the life gone out of it; but it cannot be rebuilt.

The same archbishop says most truly, 'When we read what manner of stuff is offered to us in exchange for the language of our authorised version, we learn to prize it more highly than ever.' He would have a list of such emendations as a body of learned men may agree on,—'avoiding all luxury of emendation, and abstaining from all that is not of primary necessity,' published by itself—*i.e.* not as retranslation—and left to public judgement for a time, and finally adopted by authority if it received general approval; so that 'all forcing of alterations might be avoided.' I have not the means of saying whether bishop Lonsdale concurred in this plan. He was not given to speaking of plans for doing anything until they were formally proposed to him. But it would probably have satisfied him as a via media, and a way of peace, between leaving all errors un-

corrected, and the far greater evil of vainly attempting to introduce a new and inferior Bible by force, in the place of that which it is sometimes forgotten is the Bible of Protestants wherever in the world the English tongue prevails, and which has been called by good judges—not of the English Church only—the grandest and the best translation that the world has ever seen. Unfortunately, not even the best specimens of retranslation or emendation that have been offered to us either keep within archbishop Trench's limits, or give the least assurance that the language of the authorised version would not be irreparably damaged.

I publish the following letters in answer to some clerical difficulties about the Prayer book rather as illustrating the bishop's character and opinions than for anything novel in the arguments, for novelty is not to be expected on such a subject. The whole correspondence, which went on at intervals for some years, is much too long to print. The best introduction to it is the letter of the clergyman who has sent it to us.

'Tonbridge Wells, 7 Nov. 1867.

'DEAR SIR,—Having observed in the Guardian a notice of your wish that any letters of your father's likely to be interesting might be forwarded to you,

I have sent you some that I think may be so, partly from their shewing the deep sympathy he manifested for his clergy in their trials, and partly from their shewing the calm and wise opinions he held respecting some of the points of doctrine, which of late have been agitating so many minds in our Church.

'I can never forget the deep sympathy he shewed to myself, nor the patient manner he bore with me, when time after time I used to write to him respecting certain scruples I had. He quite won my heart; and the feeling I had towards him was not merely respect to him, as my Bishop, but also one of love, as to a Spiritual father. Sorrowing with you for the sad loss you have sustained in his being taken from you,

'I am, &c.

'The Rev. James Lonsdale.'

It will be observed from the Bishop's first letter that the correspondence began anonymously, under an A. B. signature. And yet he did his best to satisfy even an anonymous writer of objections to the Prayer book, taking the trouble to consult one of his brethren besides. They were in truth bonâ fide conscientious difficulties; but they might have been something else. But it never occurred to him to suspect men's motives, or to

20353

hold his hand from trying to do good, because mischief might possibly be intended. He was however cautious enough to enjoin that his letter should be kept private: the reason for that privacy exists no longer.

'39 Harley Street, London, 2 May 1844.

'REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—Your letter, without date, reached me yesterday; and I can assure you, that I sympathize sincerely with you in the honest scruples which dictated it; and shall have real pleasure, if I can be instrumental towards the removal of them. Nor, I am thankful to say, do I see any obstacle in the way of this happy result: for there appears to me no reason why, as a Minister of the Church of England, you should feel yourself at all called upon to go beyond the view of Baptismal Regeneration which is stated by Wall in the passage quoted by you. How this can be deemed 'a rationalistic view,' I am at a loss to conceive. Neither can I see how any man can take upon himself to say what 'the formularies of the Church *imply*.' We can only judge of what is *expressed*. Of course, as you say, different constructions may be put upon expressions, where the Church has not explained them: and I think (as I have said already) that the construction put upon the language of the Church in the instance before us by Wall is *rational* (not *rationalistic*), as well as Scriptural: and is in agreement with Articles

16 and 27. Though I had no doubt in my own mind upon the matter, I thought it better, before answering your letter, to consult a very learned and judicious Bishop respecting it, and one who has given his particular attention to matters of doctrine; and I am happy to inform you that he sees the matter (having read your letter) exactly in the same light as I do.

'I trust therefore that you will dispossess your mind of the scruples by which you have been disquieted; and, under God's blessing, will go on your way rejoicing.

'Believe me,

'Reverend and dear Sir,

'Your very faithful servant,

'J. LICHFIELD.

The Reverend A. B.

I request you to consider this as quite a private communication. I felt that there was no need for me to write more at length: and my diocesan correspondence is so overwhelming, that I am glad to avoid all fairly avoidable writing.'

The next letter in the same correspondence resumed which is material to print is this:

'Eccleshall, 8 Nov. 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,—I hope you have not attributed my delay in answering your letter to anything ap-

proaching to indifference as to the subject of it. The truth is that it reached me with very many others when I was engaged in a circuit of Church business, from place to place, which occupied almost all my time, and gave me little leisure for writing.

'Your letter has given me great pain; for I fear that I shall not have it in my power to add anything material to my answer, unsatisfactory to you as it has proved, to your former letter upon the same subject.

'That the Church of England declares Regeneration to take place in Baptism you see, and confess: and that any one should take a contrary view of her language in this respect, plain as it is, has always been to me a source of wonder.

'But it appears to me that the same Church no where exactly defines what she means by Regeneration: and therefore I conceive that a liberty is here allowed to her members, and to her ministers also. What writers belonging to her communion may say upon the subject, in productions not constituting part of her accredited formularies, must, I think, be put wholly out of the question; however deservedly great the reputation of those writers may be. You yourself indeed quote Hooker and Comber only as agreeing with the Articles and Liturgy.

'You refer to Article 25; which asserts that 'Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens

of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, but doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.' And this agrees with the second answer in the Catechism. But neither the one nor the other defines the measure of grace given; or presumes to say when it begins, or whether it ever ceases to work.

'The same remark will apply, perhaps even more strongly, to Article 16 also referred to by you. So at least it appears to me. Nor do I see anything in the wording of the Baptismal service referred to by you, where prayer is made 'that the Holy Ghost may be given, and thanks are afterwards offered, implying that it has been given,' which may not be regarded in the same way.

'Your scruple as to the giving of the Holy Ghost, 'when, as is too often the case, no prayers are really offered by those who bring the child to baptism,' appears to me to be still less one which ought to disquiet you. The Church frames her services throughout upon the assumption that her worshippers are spiritual worshippers: nor is it easy to see how they could have been proved otherwise.

'But whatever may be the case with those who bring the child to baptism, you at least offer prayers on its behalf; and you may fairly presume, or at least must

charitably suppose, that other ministers pray likewise, and administer the Sacrament in faith. And is it not reasonable to hope that God will accept the child for the one that does well, and not reject it for the others that do ill: though even of these perhaps one ought hardly to say with confidence that they are altogether faithless and godless, and offer no prayers in their hearts, when they bring the child to baptism.

'As to your 'not being quite certain that our Saviour's language in John iii. 5 ['Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God'] relates to Baptism' (for I do not think it necessary to show that it relates *only* to Baptism), surely the fact admitted by yourself, that 'it seems always to have been so understood in the early days of the Church,' is abundantly sufficient to justify the Church of England in so applying it, at the beginning of her baptismal service; not to mention that, in my humble opinion, the other interpretations of it involve a straining of the language, to which they who would explain away the 'hard sayings' of Scripture (among whom I need not say I am very far from classing you) too often have had recourse.

'I am sure you will not suspect me of wishing you to put any violence upon your conscience, by remaining a minister (or a member, for I suppose you will cease to be one if you cease to be other) of a Church

which appears to you not to teach her children 'as the truth is in Jesus.' But I do earnestly entreat you not to forsake the Church in which you were born, and baptized, and bred, and have ministered, without being fully persuaded, as far as you can be, by consideration and prayer, and advice more weighty, and not less disinterested, than mine, that your conscience is rightly informed.

'When you shall have left this ark (though I am yet unwilling to anticipate this), it is impossible to say whither you may wander, or where you will find rest. The great Milton left it; and ended in finding no sect of Christians with whom he could hold communion.

'Believe me, my dear Sir,

'Yours very faithfully,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

The clergyman's scruples seem to have been quieted for the time, but they revived, or new ones arose, after some years, and the correspondence was again resumed. The following is the most important of the Bishop's part of it:

'Eccleshall, 19 Oct. 1864.

'MY DEAR MR. ——.—Your letter of the 17th has not reached Eccleshall till this afternoon. . . .

'I agree with you in thinking it a happy thing that a modification in the declarations required from the clergy is likely to take place [by 28 & 29 Vic. c. 122].

'But all experience seems to me to shew that Articles of Faith are (humanly speaking) necessary for the preservation of sound doctrine in the Church.

'About an alteration of the Burial service I have heard much, and read much, and thought much. I wish I could say I had come to a conclusion satisfactory to my own mind upon the subject. I have gathered the opinions of the clergy of this diocese through the Rural Deans; and I find that about two thirds of them are opposed to any change.

'I admit the weight of your argument that no doctrine would be involved in the change. But there is a widely prevailing persuasion that a change in this service would be followed by a demand for change in others. The case appears to me to be one of great difficulty.

'I am grateful for the kindness of your letter, and in particular for your inquiries after my health. I have great reason to be thankful for its present state. But I am far from being 'as strong and well as when we last met.'

'I am very faithfully yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

It must not be inferred from the last sentence that his health or strength was really failing. He was sometimes troubled by local ailments, such as an eruption on his hands, and others; and then

he was desponding about his health; but he was never seriously ill, and almost till his death he used to walk at least an hour a day, and often more. The winter before he died he walked to a village about three miles from Eccleshall, spent an hour there in choosing the site for a school and other business, and walked home again.

The only other letter of this correspondence which need be printed is the concluding one, which contains some interesting passages.

'London, 26 June, 1865.

'My DEAR MR. ——, —While I thank you for your kind letter of the 24th, I cannot but express my true regret at the determination to which you have come as to the resumption of your old post at ——. But you have determined thoughtfully and honestly, and therefore I cannot doubt that you have determined wisely.

'Still I cannot but feel that it is a loss to the Church not to have the services of a minister whose faith in it, by his own acknowledgement, is on the increase rather than the decrease.

'But besides your doctrinal scruples, which seem to be less than they were, you have, it appears, personal and domestic reasons for not returning to beautiful, but not warm, ——.

'Your admission that the doctrine of Baptismal

Regeneration has been the doctrine of the Church in one sense or another from the earliest days, and that you think it could not be removed rightly from the Prayer book, is important. You are a lover of truth.

'I rejoice with you at the relaxation of clerical subscription, though it is more apparent than real. The subscription will in substance be what it was before. [But it satisfies many who were not satisfied before.]

'I have read every word of Newman's Apologia with great interest, and so far as the man is concerned, with great pleasure. But it seems to me a very inconclusive book. I am not afraid of its making any man a Romanist.

'I cannot think that the Romanists like the book. It is far too liberal, and allows far too much to our Church, which it admits to have the claim of antiquity, to please them.

'As to the doctrine that the church has any infallible head upon earth, it must be set down either to enthusiasm or politic invention. It was never appealed to (as you have said), because never thought of, in the differences of Apostolic days; and (as you say again) it has no analogy, any more than any Scripture, in its favour. It would be convenient to have an infallible Sovereign, or an infallible Prime Minister. But God has not so ordered matters, either in Church or State.

'With a grateful sense of the kindness of your expressions towards myself, and with all good wishes,

'I am, dear Mr. ——,

'Very sincerely yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

Here is a letter to another of his clergy written in similar circumstances:

'Eccleshall, 12 Feb. 1864.

'MY DEAR MR. ——,—I would have answered your letter before had it been in my power. But multitudes of letters, a diocesan meeting at Lichfield, &c. &c., have prevented me.

'I wish I could now answer it to your, or I may say, to my own satisfaction.

'I truly sympathise with you in your perplexity, and the more so because I do not see how it can be altogether removed. But it does not seem to me to be a sufficient excuse for your retirement from the ministry of the Church. Like Abp. Tillotson, and many others, I wish we were well rid of the damnatory clauses in the Athanasian Creed, but I see no ground for hoping that this will be done. It is the creed not of the Church of England alone.

'The utmost that I can hope is that, as a Commission for considering the subject of clerical subscription has been appointed, some liberty may be given as to the sense in which the 8th Article, as well as others,

may be taken. At present, however, I am inclined to think that the Article* may well be understood as only asserting that the *doctrine* of the Athanasian Creed 'ought thoroughly to be received and believed, as capable of being proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.'

'This, I am free to confess, is the best solution of the difficulty which I can offer. I do not think those who forbear to repeat the two damnatory clauses when they occur in our Service can be blamed. But I admit that this opinion may well be controverted: and it is not for me to dictate to your, or any man's conscience. I cannot agree with you in thinking that the A. C. excludes, or at least was intended to exclude Jews and Turks from salvation; for it was certainly framed not against them, but against unorthodox Christians. That it was intended to exclude the members of the Greek Church I admit with sorrow.

'As Holy Scripture makes belief necessary to salvation, it may not unreasonably be concluded that unbelief excludes from it. And there is Mark xvi. 16 directly to the purpose, not to speak of John iii. 18, 36, &c. I do not mean to say that such texts as these warrant us in pronouncing a sentence of con-

* Bishop Blomfield (see his Life i. 116) expressed the same opinion, that 'the damnatory clauses are no part of the Christian doctrine set forth in the A. C., nor, strictly speaking, part of the creed itself; but only a particular form of asserting that the doctrine of the creed is true.'

demnation upon those who refuse a dogmatic definition of faith, of man's devising, such as that in the A. C. And I quite agree with you in thinking that it is 'an evil heart of unbelief' that is condemned in Scripture.

'Believe me,

'Very sincerely yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

This letter having exhibited his views of 'the two damnatory clauses' of the Athanasian creed—but of them only—I add that he never, for some years past certainly, said them himself in the responses (where alone they occur) at Eccleshall; and his silence at those verses must have struck the congregation, as his voice was heard all over the church. Neither did he, either in the reading desk, or at the Table, or in his own seat, conform to the practice (for which it is difficult to assign a rational ground) of turning his back on the congregation to say any of the creeds. Still less did he admire the bowings and stoopings which some persons, chiefly of the female sex (see p. 92), have adopted at every Gloria Patri and some other places in the service. He just observed the one obeisance in the Creeds which is universal; but never any more. In these matters his sympathies were with the 'low churchmen:' but by no

means so in the practice of some of them, of administering the elements to many Communicants at once, addressed collectively in the plural number. For that is by no means a matter of form or convenience, but involves a great doctrinal question; and therein is entirely different from saying the Confirmation prayer over many children at once, as all bishops do of necessity. I have no doubt that the plural administration of the Communion is illegal, as being contrary both to the explicit directions and to the spirit of the Prayer book.

The following letter to Mr. Harvey shows that his old aversion to publishing his sermons was not abated by his elevation, and that an almost unbroken custom of the old Church societies could not prevail against it.

'Eccleshall, 29 Oct. 1849.

'MY DEAR HARVEY,—The Committee and Secretaries of S. P. G. are altogether blameless as to the absence of any sermon from the Report of this year. The fault (if fault there be) is entirely mine. But I am sure the omission will do the Society no harm. And as the sermon was omitted not many years ago, I think a like omission this year may both take away the singularity of that instance, and also tend to break down the custom of inserting the sermons as a

matter of course: from which I know not that the Society has derived any good.

'I should indeed be sorry if you were to withdraw your services from the Society. You have most abundantly proved your love for it by working hard in its cause, and with signal success too. I trust you are mistaken in looking despondingly upon its prospects. In the diocese, where I have been lately attending meetings, as in former years, on its behalf, its receipts have nearly doubled in the last five years. The party who previously 'persecuted' you on account of your support of it have, almost all of them, been forward to help me in supporting it.

'I am truly sorry, my dear friend, to hear of your being so poorly. The truth is that you have overworked yourself in your parish, and ought long ago to have had the permanent assistance to which you have now been necessitated to have recourse. But I hope it will now be the means, under God's blessing, of your restoration to health.

'It is most kind of you to mention my son, the Secretary of the National Society, as you have done. But you are always kind where I or mine are concerned. . . . Thanks for the sight of Benson's letter. One from him, even though an old one, is a treat. I hope his recovery has continued and advanced.

'I do not read any religious reviews now, or newspapers. The latter, at least, are doing infinite mischief.

'As to the Cathedrals, it must I think be admitted that they do not serve the Church at all in proportion to their riches and their rank. In what way they may serve it better, is not an easy problem. Mr. Dawes [afterwards Dean of Hereford] has touched upon this subject in a pamphlet entitled 'Observations on the working of the Government scheme of education.'

'Mrs. Lonsdale returned home with her health decidedly improved by German air and waters, and rest, and with her worst symptoms removed. But this low damp place, and the diocesan company, which we must have, are now, I grieve to say, telling upon her. As to my own health I have great cause to be thankful.

'Believe me &c.

'J. LICHFIELD.'

The improvement in Mrs. Lonsdale's health was of short duration, as he evidently feared it would be. The 'diocesan company' and the care of a large house had always been too much for her; and possibly the dampness of Eccleshall, in a valley kept swampy by mill dams, aggravated her illness, though it is on the whole a very healthy place, on gravel, and singularly free from epidemic diseases. The bishop himself and some other members of his family had better health there than either in London or Lichfield. From

the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851, when they had many visitors in London, she grew rapidly worse, and was no longer revived by visits to Germany, and died on the 16th of October 1852 at St. Leonards, and was buried there, not at Eccleshall. The carrying of dead bodies long distances to be buried was disapproved, and often derided by the bishop; except where there are public reasons for having the religious ceremony of the Burial of the dead performed in some particular place, out of consideration for those among whom a man of consequence has lived: not because it signifies whether he leaves his body 'to be turned into corruption' in one place rather than another. It seems necessary to remind some people that the burial service does not say 'We therefore commit *him*—but his *body*—to the ground;' and that that body will never be his again, but another, 'a spiritual body.'

He disapproved also of contrivances for preserving bodies, contrary to the course of nature. Some officious person about the house ordered a lead coffin when he died, but it was sent back according to his known wishes. The opinion and the practice of this wise and loving man may perhaps do something to check the miserable and unchristian superstition of corpse-worship (for it

is nothing less) which is inveterate among the ignorant, and not unknown among those who might be expected to know better. In like manner he was indifferent and careless about the conventional demonstrations of grief, and sometimes laughed at their extravagance; and remarkably silent about his own sorrow when it was deep and severe. He would have adopted the words preached upon his own death by one of his archdeacons (Allen).

'True, we cannot help shedding tears when we think of the excellences of our loved ones, from whom we are separated for a season. But to encourage ourselves in lamentation and mourning, to set ourselves to renew our sorrow, as if it seemed a kind of debt to the dearly loved saints we have lost: this indisposes to activity: this tends to hinder submission to God's will: this surely is wrong. Our Lord's disciples, when they were separated from him whom they loved, acted very differently, as we read in the last two verses of St. Luke's gospel.'

Here I may appropriately introduce a letter from the bishop to one of his friends, on a death in his family.

'Eccleshall, 6 April 1865.

'MY DEAR DR. KENNEDY,—Though I am unwilling to obtrude myself upon the depth and sacredness

of your sorrow, I cannot refrain from expressing to you my true sympathy with you, and your widowed daughter, and all around you, in the affliction which it has pleased God to lay upon your family.

'I know indeed the case was one in which you have had very little hope for some time past. But the blow would be felt nevertheless when it actually fell. None knows better than you how it is to be borne.

'The truly Christian qualities of the excellent person whom you have lost, his integrity, his kindness, his liberality, must indeed, when regarded in an earthly point of view, add to the sharpness of your sorrow: but, looked at as you and yours will look at them, they afford the surest ground for comfort and for hope.

'Please kindly pardon this intrusion and believe me always,

'Very sincerely yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

It has been said of him, by some as a compliment, and by others as a reflection on his character, that he had no theological opinions. The letters and facts which I have given show clearly enough in what sense this is true. He had no such theological opinions as prevented him from acting cordially with men of any opinions in promoting anything that was good, or from recognising and

admiring all that was good in them, while he was fully sensible of their defects, or of their differences in opinion from himself. For a time I remember it was thought by some persons, of no extreme opinions themselves, that he had fallen into the hands of that very party with whom it happened that he oftenest came into open conflict, and whom he had felt from the first that he should have to resist. They were deceived, as they afterwards confessed, by his determined impartiality. Dr. Kennedy truly says in his letter (p. 240) that the Bishop's opinions were those of the *old* high church school, very different from those of the new, 'but broadened by experience, and inclining always to moderation and comprehension.'

At other times he was accused by low churchmen of leaning to the opposite party: of which many people must have heard him say, no less than other bishops, dead and living, that while the high-churchmen's favourite doctrine is the duty of obedience, they are the least disposed of all people to obey their own bishop in anything they do not like. He used to say that he had only one high-churchman in the diocese who ever submitted to him. He said lately to a person of whose knowledge he thought highly, 'I don't know 'what you think of the high-church theology;

'I don't believe in it a bit.' I have already given his opinion of the modern or 'ritualistic' developement of high-churchism. That of the earlier days of his episcopate, when it was called 'tractarianism,' he thought equally mischievous and wrong, but not so purely foolish; and he often spoke of the ability and learning of the men of that party in contrast to the opposite or calvinistic one; and he generally added, 'And they are gentlemen.'

Here is another of his declarations which has been sent to me: 'I wish people would content 'themselves with using the language—the very 'words—of the church of England. Her words 'are very carefully weighed, and are sufficiently 'various to express all we need say, *if we honestly* '*mean no more and no less than she does.*' We have seen him laying down the same rule in one of his letters to the clergymen who consulted him about their difficulties as to the 'meaning' of some of the formularies of the Church. I need hardly add that he strongly disapproved of all new declarations of belief in other words than those of the Church, as calculated, if not intended, to produce division, and not unity; and no less, of the so called Church societies whose object really is to narrow the limits of the Church.

I have been obliged to speak of his antipathies

to all religious parties, whatever name they assumed for themselves or have received from others. It is contrary to almost universal experience that a person so opposed to all parties should not be disliked by all, except the moderate men among whom he ranks himself; and they, by the nature of things, are the quiet men, who give no strong expression to their partialities. How then did this bishop avoid the usual fate, and acquire as he did the affection of those from whose principles he differed so widely? By his sympathy with all men, notwithstanding his antipathy to their party views or their peculiar principles, provided only they were doing good; and by all those qualities which I enumerated before, as I believe, with no exaggeration.

Even in his life a signal expression of the feeling of his clergy towards him was manifested, at the reopening of the cathedral in October 1861, after the restoration of the choir: which had been devastated in the last century by Wyatt the 'architect,' who laid waste also the inside of Salisbury and demolished its old bell tower, and a great part of Durham, and of Hereford, doing worse mischief than the Puritans; for they at any rate set up no abominations of their own. Pugin said, on visiting one of those cathedrals; 'Yes, the

monster has been here.' An address was then presented to the Bishop signed by nearly 800 of his clergy—probably by all who were not under some disability—assuring him of their affection and respect, and of their thankfulness for his fatherly kindness, courtesy, accessibility, munificence, charity; for his constant endeavours to promote peace and good will; for his readiness to preach for them, and the aid which their parochial institutions received thereby; for the advice which they never sought from him in vain, and for the example which he set them in his zeal, industry, and self-sacrifice in the fulfilment of every duty. He answered thus:

'MR. DEAN, AND MY VENERABLE AND REVEREND BRETHREN,—You have known me long and well; and so I hope that you will not measure by my feebleness of expression the strength of the feeling with which I receive your address.

'During a period of nearly eighteen years I have had constant experience of your kindness—your considerate and indulgent kindness—both individually and in a measure collectively, in every part of this large and populous diocese. But I was wholly unprepared for the public and united manifestation of it with which you have now honoured me.

'There is no relation between man and man more

sacred than that which subsists between a Bishop and the Clergy of his diocese. There is none more happy, when it is a relation of mutual confidence and sympathy and affection. That there is such a relation between you and me (for I on my part have no misgivings as to it) you have this day given me an assurance which I can never forget.

'Deeply, very deeply gratifying is that assurance to me. But I cannot separate it from a self-humbling consciousness that my endeavours to do my duty among you have fallen far short of deserving the approval of them which you have been pleased to express. I have indeed desired, and have prayed to be enabled, to act according to my Lord's charge that he who is chief among you should be your servant. But I know too well how defective my service has been. I have desired to work with you as a brother. But I have felt continually my need of your brotherly kindness, to cover the manifold imperfections of my work.

'I thank you, my Reverend Brethren, from my heart for this new and special expression of your good will towards me. It is not the least among the many mercies and blessings for which I have cause to be thankful to God. I thank you especially for your prayers. And while I earnestly desire a continuance of them for me, I pray not less earnestly that God's blessing may be ever with you, in yourselves, in your houses, and above all in your ministry.'

At this same reopening of the cathedral he did not preach the sermon. His humility, always alive, and too sensitive, had taken alarm that his powers were failing, from some foolish speech, probably meaning nothing, which had been as foolishly repeated to him; and he desired that a more popular orator should be invited. How much they were failing may be judged from this beautiful answer to the address—to say nothing of his six years of active and vigorous work since that time—and by his very last speeches and sermons. Both clergy and laity were deeply disappointed, and those who did not know the cause were very naturally offended at their bishop being apparently put aside at the reopening of his own cathedral for a stranger, however eminent. I have heard him preach twice, as an old man, on great occasions, with some of the first preachers of the day, and his sermons were unanimously pronounced the best of all. But I shall have to say more on this subject in the next chapter.

Another mark of respect had been designed for him both by some of the clergy and of the laity of the diocese, in the restoration of his own parish church of Eccleshall; where the bishops of the see have lived (according to tradition) for exactly 12 centuries, with few intervals, since the time

of Chad the first bishop of Lichfield, who had resigned the bishopric of York * to avoid a conflict, as we can easily believe that this the greatest of his successors would have done; and where most of the clergy of the diocese had been ordained—more than 1200, or half as many again as the diocese contains, by bishop Lonsdale himself; and now his burial place. It is nearly the oldest bishop's seat in the kingdom; but now, it seems, about to be deserted. The church is of high architectural character in its original Early English features, and of considerable size, 150 feet long, and no less than 68 feet wide; but it had suffered from the usual causes, of neglect, foundations undermined by graves, and a bad partial restoration 40 years ago, and was almost ruinous.

These circumstances, together with the Bishop's great age, were strong reasons against delaying the work, if its completion was to be looked for while he was alive to receive the testimonial. It is not pleasing to be forced to remember that it was delayed, just too long: not by any want of energy in those who first stirred in the business, or of liberality in those who were locally interested; but

* See note, p. 6, and Raine's Lives of Archbishops of York.

by small jealousies, and insinuations that Eccleshall was seeking to restore its church at the expense of the diocese: as if it were a thing unheard of that a church should be restored or rebuilt as a tribute of respect to some one who is specially connected with it, although his parishioners must needs share the benefit. Several such instances have occurred, within no great distance, both with respect to clergymen and laymen.

At page 250 the inscription on a tablet in the chancel will be seen, which records the doing of the work and the motive for it, the regret that what was to have been a votive tablet has now to be turned into an epitaph, and the character of him who lived and laboured and died and is buried there. The composition of that, and also of the memorial inscription on the wall of the chapel of King's College London, was intrusted to his eldest son, James Lonsdale, a scholar of reputation like his own: the variety of the two compositions is remarkable.

CHAPTER IV.

HIS GENERAL WORK AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

I HAVE now to speak of some of the general characteristics of the bishop in his regular work; for I know of no other special events of his life which need recording, until near the end of it. I take these in no particular order, but as one may happen to suggest another. And first comes naturally his work in public.

His modesty and his aversion to everything of the nature of either controversy or display concurred in preventing him from speaking in public except when he felt it was his duty. We shall see at last a signal example of what he would do then. He had consequently not acquired, and certainly did not wish for, the character of an orator. Yet he spoke everywhere, in large and small assemblies alike, with that best and rarest kind of eloquence which says all that need be said, in the best language, and yet so easily and simply and clearly, that no one takes it for oratory at

the time, and inexperienced hearers fancy that they could have said what sounds so very natural and obvious themselves. At the end of his opening address at the Wolverhampton church congress, a fortnight before he died, a gentleman was heard to say; 'that's all: there is nothing more 'to be said.' Even his address to the 'working 'men' there, short as it was, was considered by some who heard it the best of all that were delivered. His style of speaking and writing, like that of most great men, especially men of action, increased in simplicity as he grew older. The contrast in this respect is evident between his early and his late sermons.

In speaking of his oratory I ought to mention his extraordinary power of making himself heard in the largest buildings. I have been reminded of several instances of it, but I had long observed it myself and learnt the secret of it. It continued to the last day of his life, and people remarked at the Wolverhampton congress that he was better heard than any other speaker, both in the large hall where they met and in the opening service at the parish church; where he wisely read the 60th chapter of Isaiah, 'Arise, 'shine, for thy light is come,' instead of the 7th chapter of Tobit, for the first lesson. No one

would have guessed that that soft and pleasant voice, which was no louder than any other in a room, would swell in a great building into a tone which sounded harsh and plaintive for a moment, but presently carried every one along with it by its surprising clearness and fullness, never rising into a shout, and never sinking into indistinctness, even of a syllable: and this in places where other preachers shouted and laboured in vain through half or all their sentences.

In a great measure this was a natural gift, the result of his strong lungs and large and well formed mouth. But it was also the fruit of care and study. For he was careless about nothing that he had to do; and he had learnt, what too many of the clergy are behind the old parish clerks and young schoolboys in knowing (and indeed by a strange perversity the very contrary is sometimes taught in early reading lessons), that the secret of being heard distinctly is to take care to say the last words of each sentence in as high a tone as the first. Somebody has truly said, 'Do you take care of the last words, and the 'first will take care of themselves; and also to 'pronounce the consonants distinctly, leaving the 'vowels to take care of themselves.' Some men's speaking sounds as if it was all vowels.

I never saw him use any 'action' in preaching, beyond clasping his hands together, which looked rather as if he meant to repress than to display any. But his mode of speaking was fervid enough, and strikingly more so when he was old than in his younger days; his whole style of preaching had more of what may be called eloquence then than before: a still rarer phenomenon than the mere preservation of great powers of mind to such an age. It will be evident to any attentive reader of his sermons in this book, separated by an interval of 27 years, that it was so. No action would have made his preaching more impressive; probably it would have made it less so. He knew well enough, that in speaking seriously, and for making a lasting impression on men's reason (though not perhaps for merely temporary oratorical success) a speaker's action and manner should be less forcible than his words, and his words should not outrun his thoughts, but should suggest more than they say: the last of which conditions is exactly the opposite of what most oratory exhibits, and most writing nowadays.

Such a weigher of his words as he was never trusted himself to preach extempore, or even from notes, though no one who has heard him speak can doubt that he could have done so very well:

I mean, without either hesitation or repetition; but I do not mean, as well as he could write. I am not ignorant that his preaching was not universally admired. But whose is? Certainly not that of the most 'popular' preachers, using that word even in its best sense; and in its other sense it has already become a term of contempt with all thinking men. I need not repeat what I said at p. 125 of bishop Lonsdale's preaching along with other celebrated and younger preachers on some great occasions.

That intensity of language and manner which is now cultivated by a certain school of preachers, above the rank of mere empty word-spouters, was contrary to his taste and feeling. The word 'repose' is an ominous one to use respecting sermons; but in the sense in which it is applied to buildings (where it means harmonious proportions, and absence of pretension and gaudiness and straining after effect, and yet without monotony) it may well be said that all this bishop's writing is remarkable for its repose, for the ease with which the best words seem to have fallen naturally into the best order, and for a solemn and rhythmical simplicity more nearly approaching that of the Prayer book than any other modern writing; in that respect not even excepting Dr. Newman's, of the merits

of which I need not speak. I defer saying a few words about one of his most public speeches till I come to it in its proper place.

He had also a strong dislike of that style of writing and speaking which avoids calling things by their common names, and indeed avoids using common words altogether as much as possible; which is erroneously fathered upon Lichfield's greatest man by those who must have read very little of his writings and conversation. Its real inventors and patrons are the half-educated writers, not of the last century but of this; and those who adopt it disclose at once, not their refinement or their knowledge, as they imagine, but something very different. The bishop used to call such words as 'commence' for 'begin,' 'utility' for 'use,' 'inexpensive' for 'cheap,' and so forth—odious: 'practical utility' was a double abomination to him; and I doubt if he ever heard any one talk of 'a limited income' for a small one, without asking 'whose income is unlimited?' We could not help wondering what he would have said if he had seen that newspaper account of his own death which made him say, when he was asked if he felt faint, that 'he had never before experienced a similar sensation;' whereas he did say, 'I feel strange, not faint;' as the original composer of the

paragraph had been doubtless told, but thought such language not dignified enough for a great scholar and a bishop. The phraseology I am describing had acquired a nickname in his family which is rather too Saxon and emphatic to be printed here. It no more resembles the 'classical style,' which it affects to imitate, than wearing dirty and bad finery is like dressing well. The smallest words are generally the largest in effect.

His addresses to the children at confirmations were always extempore, and very simple. There, as everywhere, he had a marvellous faculty of adapting his words to his audience. Several clergymen have said that he was no less a favourite with the children, who saw him only once or twice perhaps in their lives, in a school and at a confirmation, than he was with their elders.

His numerous and yearly increasing confirmations continually increased his labour; and though it was labour of a merely ministerial kind, it curtailed his time for other work. It has been suggested by high authority that confirmations might well be performed, and that they were performed in early times, by clergymen below the episcopal order. But that change is not likely to be made, and it would reduce the number of candidates enormously. As the bishop grew old he gave up

holding two confirmations in a day; and so the days consumed in this way were doubled, besides the constantly increasing number of places where he held them: for he was always ready to accede, if he could, to a request that he would confirm in ever so small a parish, instead of making the children walk some miles to another.

The following letter has been sent as an illustration of the trouble he would take to encourage his clergy in their work. Another clergyman, to whom it was shown, remarked 'If all English bishops wrote such letters as this, how their clergy would work for them.'

'Eccleshall, 5 Oct. 1863.

'MY DEAR MR. H——,—I am just setting out for my South Staffordshire confirmations. But I cannot go without saying how highly I am gratified by the remarkable *numerousness* of the list for C——, which I have received from Mr. W—— this morning, and how happy I think that parish in its pastor.

'In great haste,

'Very sincerely yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

His support of the Lichfield church extension society, founded by bishop Ryder, must be mentioned in giving an account of his public work. Four times over he commended it by addresses

and charges to the laity and clergy of the diocese, and his commendation was enforced by donations of his own amounting to 3700*l.* His example and exhortation raised about 65,000*l.* for this purpose, besides multitudes of private benefactions to particular churches, and a separate fund for the augmentation of poor benefices, first established by Archdeacon Allen in the archdeaconry of Salop, and afterwards in those of Stafford and Derby. The result was that he consecrated 156 new churches in his 24 years, or exactly one for every 8 weeks on the average; and this of course increased the number of his clergy and the amount of his work continually. Though the dioceses of Lincoln and Exeter exceed Lichfield in the number of churches, and in area, they are far short of it in population, Lincoln having not much more than half of Lichfield; and it is hardly necessary to say that the clergy of a manufacturing population, like that of the ironworks and the potteries of Staffordshire, bring much more work upon a bishop than those of agricultural counties like Lincolnshire and Devonshire, or even the tin mines of Cornwall.

There was at one time a project for relieving the diocese of the northern half of Shropshire which belongs to it; but he did not consider that

the proper arrangement, and was unwilling for other reasons to lose his archdeaconry of Salop. He would have been glad to part with Derbyshire, which manifestly ought to be attached to a bishopric of Southwell, now that the episcopal revenues in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners produce far more than is paid by them to all the bishops. He did not regret the loss of Bills for founding second-rate bishoprics by voluntary contributions. But one of the last things I heard him say in company was, 'The 'House of Commons will never pass any bill again 'for the benefit of the Church.' He also wished to divide the county of Stafford into two archdeaconries, but was unable to effect it.

Not long after he had issued one of those appeals for church extension, headed by his own donation of 1000*l.*, he wrote as follows about a speech which had been made against the bishops in the House of Commons:

'Eccleshall, 9 Feb. 1850.

'MY DEAR MR. NORRIS,— . . . . . I am sure that, if you have read Mr. H——'s speech in the House of Commons the other day about the Ecclesiastical Commission, you will agree with me as to the bad spirit apparently manifested in it. His object seemed to be to hold up the bishops to odium and contempt;

and no doubt the dissenters will turn it to this account. I could not but feel indignation at his saying, that 'in the work of church extension the bishops 'went on exhorting and the people giving.' It is grossly untrue and unjust. I have had a great mind to write to him on the subject. . . . Perhaps I ought not to speak of myself in this matter. But I may say to you, that when I put forth an exhortation for church building in this diocese two years ago, I began the contribution by 1000*l.*; and I am sure my brother bishops are no less liberal.

'Believe me &c.

'J. LICHFIELD.'

It has been said by those who have better means of knowing than I have, that there was hardly a public charity in the diocese, or of the church at large (except those which notoriously have a partisan character) to which he did not give liberally. His private charities he took care that no one should be able to measure. But it was well known that they were very large, and that he was apt to err on the side of liberality and confidence, even where a little suspicion would have been wiser. He kept no private accounts, and seldom talked about money. But he was rich, for a clergyman at least, both by marriage and inheritance; and it was well for the

diocese that he was. For it was some years before he saved out of his private and official incomes together enough to replace the expense of taking possession of the see. And instead of having to provide for his family out of his official income, his own private means contributed largely to the wants of the diocese.

It is no slight evil that any poor man who accepts a bishopric must live for some years in debt, and with the feeling that if he dies soon he must die insolvent. I remember the late bishop Allen, of Ely, publishing the fact that he had been in that condition for a considerable time; and the same has been notoriously true of others. In old times the whole system of ecclesiastical promotion was one of chances. It was intended by bishop Blomfield's scheme (6, 7 W. IV. c. 77) to put an end to that system; and to make the episcopal revenues equal and certain, with a few whimsical exceptions which had no better reason than that they exceeded or fell short of the average before; besides the three bishoprics which also have precedence, London, Durham, and Winchester. Lichfield, on the whole the largest, is among the poorest. Now that the whole episcopal funds produce (as I said just now) far more than the whole episcopal incomes, it is time that some pro-

vision were made to save bishops from being forced to live some years in a state of insolvency if they have not private means.

Bishop Lonsdale certainly wasted nothing in luxury or state. He was one of those to whom they are not merely uninviting, but oppressive. His furniture and general equipment would have been thought shabby by many a man with half his income. The bedroom to which he retired on his wife's death in 1852 was little better than a servant's room, both in size and furniture.* Though his hospitality was bounded only by the size of the house, it was for the most part of a simple kind. He disliked waste and was profuse in nothing but in giving.

He occasionally received and visited some of the laity of the diocese, for there was no reason why he should decline, and he knew the benefit to all classes of the bishop being on friendly terms with the laity no less than the clergy. But the hospitality which he chiefly exercised was towards his clergy. When his Rural Deans of each archdeaconry came yearly to Eccleshall, or candidates for Orders, or any other gathering of clergy, the only question he asked was, how many

* I hear that one gentleman bought all the furniture of that bedroom as a memorial of the bishop at the sale of what was left at Eccleshall after his death.

could be taken in. There were very few of his clergy who had not stayed with him at some time, and certainly none of those who had been long in the diocese. If I am not mistaken, he was the first bishop who took in the candidates for Orders during their days of examination, instead of letting them go to the inns in the town. And it was never his fault if clergymen who were coming to see him from a distance did not sleep at the Castle, as the Palace at Eccleshall is called.

He was no less admirable in the character of a host than in all others; treating his guests without ceremony, but never without politeness, or the dignity which was part of his nature; not even allowing them to wait for him at meals, except dinner, and sitting down in any place that was vacant when he came in. When they went away he would help them through the difficulties of Bradshaw and the North Staffordshire Railway, which seems to go straight nowhere, and is hardly to be ventured on without the help of experience; and he often sent them in his carriage to and from the station, which is nearly 3 miles from Eccleshall.

It is curious that the opening of a railway from Stafford to Uttoxeter, which he had long looked forward to as a relief from the North Stafford-

shire delays, took place very soon after his death. An Act was also passed a few years ago for a railway from Stafford through Eccleshall to Market Drayton and Whitchurch in Salop, and North Wales, for which he gave evidence in Parliament. Stafford is more central and accessible for the whole diocese than Lichfield. Archbishop Howley had strongly advised him not to live there, chiefly because a bishop is much less master of his own time in the city than the country; and the badness of the palace there enforced the advice conclusively.* It will be a great misfortune for the see if it should lose Eccleshall, which has belonged to it for 1200 years, and has been inhabited by the bishops for an unknown time, merely because a single one prefers to live at Lichfield.

Nothing more is known of its very early history than that Domesday book says it had been held by the bishops from the time of Chad ('Ipse episcopus tenet Ecleshelle: Scs. Cedd tenuit'). But I confess I can find no authority for the tradition that he lived there, or any of his successors for a good while after him. It appears to have been 'embattled,' or made into a castle, under a licence from King John; to have been mostly rebuilt

* The tenant of the palace, who had been there long, died not many days before him.

by bishop Langton in 1310; and again, after suffering great damage, like the Cathedral, in the civil wars, by bishop Lloyd in 1695; who rebuilt all the most visible parts of the house in the domestic style of that age, but incorporating some of the older parts behind. Nothing of the castle is visible, except a round tower, now away from the house, and the bridge and walls of the moat, which was turned into a garden by bishop Ryder. A short extension of the garden goes to the churchyard; and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are now trying to take that away: whereby they will make the Castle a mile from the church, and gain perhaps a pound a year in compensation for their Gloucester and Bristol palace exploits (p. 39).

These may be thought trifling details, 'below the dignity of history,' or even of biography. But we know the regret of great historians that the 'dignity of history' had ever stood in the way of preserving the small facts which give the character of an age or a man. Instead of using vague epithets which might mean anything, and therefore nothing, I prefer recording for those who care to read it what bishop Lonsdale really did, and how he lived.

As the vicar of Eccleshall said in the sermon on his death, 'He might often be seen at the

'Railway Station in the grey twilight of a winter 'morning, starting for some distant part of the 'diocese, while younger men were in bed;' often coming home too late for dinner, and having his daily task of letters to answer before he went to bed, and beginning the next day's soon after 7 in the morning. It was said in another sermon published on his death that he had told the preacher not long before, that he had every day for the next two months filled with engagements. In every successive visit of my own at Eccleshall for many years, he seemed to be less and less at home; latterly hardly ever for three nights together, except when he had company himself. He left the Wolverhampton congress before the end, to come home for one night and go the next day to the other end of the diocese to preach for a clergyman who was going abroad for his own pleasure and had begged the bishop to preach for his schools before he went.

His letters were however the great burden of his life. I do not mean to deny that he made it heavier than it need have been; that he answered some letters which he need not, and a few that he had better not have answered, and that he often wrote longer letters than his correspondents expected. Still he did what he thought his duty in

this matter, and could not be persuaded to do less. His archdeacons, and no doubt many of his clergy, spared him as much as they could. But he complained of the unreasonableness of some of them, and often of his trouble being aggravated by bad writing. I remember his telling us of a curate living in a rectory writing six sheets of paper to complain that the rector had not left sheets for his beds as he had promised. The trouble he would take to find out the names of men who could not (or would not) write their own names, was incredible. The use of an illegible scrawl for a signature was specially offensive to him because it is generally the result of something more than carelessness.

His own writing was always distinct, except when it was intended only for his own use, even at the time when it was laborious to him to write at all, as I shall have to mention afterwards. I preserve here a fac-simile of a page of one of his letters, illustrating something more than his writing, to a clergyman who had been brought before magistrates for an act of violence. After describing it he says:

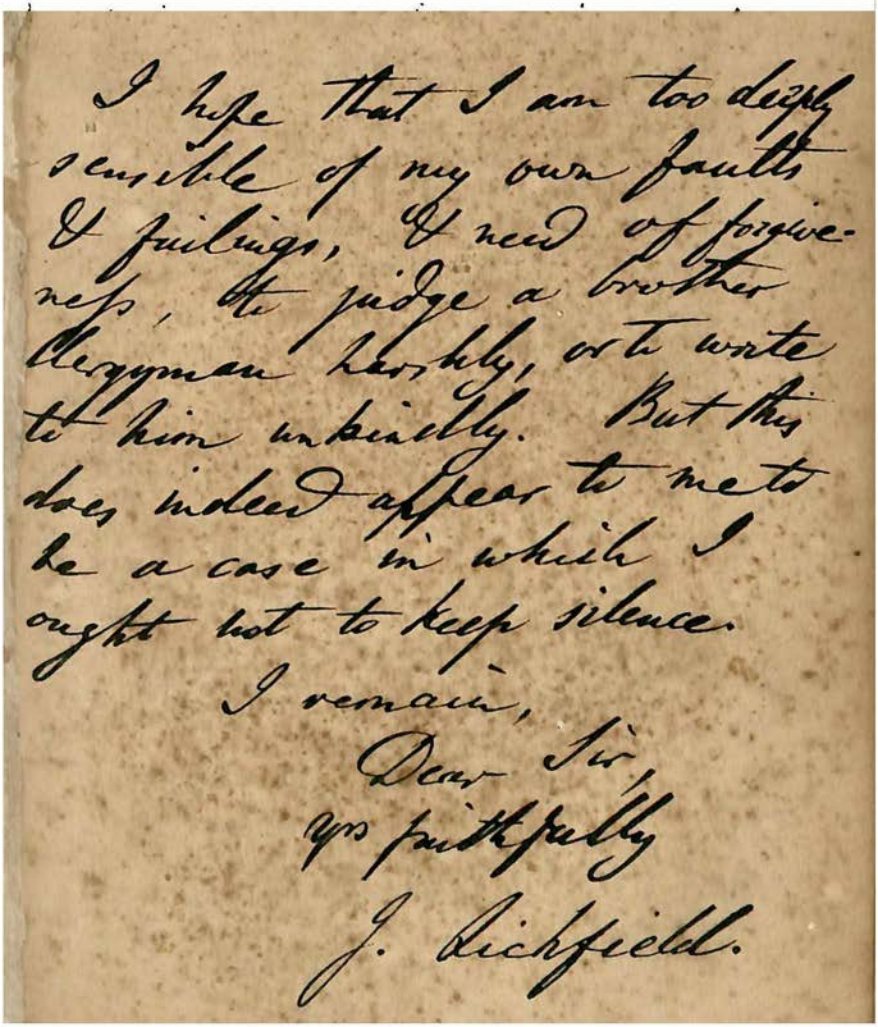
'I pray you as a brother seriously to consider whether such conduct—unchristian-like and wrong in any man—be not quite irreconcileable with the

calling and character of a clergyman, a minister of the Gospel of peace; and whether it must not tend to bring scandal upon the ministry of the Church, and so upon the cause of religion. If you will turn to the questions which you answered when you were ordained Priest, especially the last but one, I think the matter will be brought forcibly home to you.

'I hope' [see the page opposite.]

It is remarkable that this is the only copy of a letter that we found in his own writing. If he wanted letters copying, it was done for him by his daughter who lived with him, or some one else in the family. But this one he had either copied or rewritten for himself. He was often urged to keep a secretary, to relieve him of the mere physical burden of his letter-writing. Moreover he could dictate to a quick writer faster than he wrote himself; and his memory was so good that he never wanted a dictated letter to be read over to him; however long it was. But he could not be persuaded to have a secretary, though he was obliged to accept help for a few months in 1865 from his family and the vicar of Eccleshall, while his hand was weak. He disliked letting any work be done for him which he either thought himself ought to be done by him, or thought that others would expect from him.

Facsimile of the handwriting of the late Bishop of Lichfield.



I hope that I am too deeply sensible of my own faults & failings, & need of forgiveness, to judge a brother clergyman harshly, or to write to him unkindly. But this does indeed appear to me to be a case in which I ought not to keep silence.

I remain,
Dear Sir,
Yrs faithfully
J. Lichfield.

Once or twice, early in his time, he went abroad for a fortnight, but he was so overwhelmed by the accumulation of letters when he came home, though as many as could be had been answered for him by one of his archdeacons, that he never went again. His letters followed him whenever he went away for a few weeks, as he generally did in summer for a kind of holiday, and even on his visits for a single day.

There are two ways of answering letters: one, merely to get rid of the subject on the easiest terms; the other to give the most complete answer that you can, even at the risk of further trouble. The few specimens I have given show which was his way of answering. Moreover he answered not merely every letter, but every point in it. Before giving some specimens of his letters on general topics it will be convenient to insert here some remarks upon his correspondence by Mr. Norris, to which I have referred already at p. 14. He says:—

'Of the many scores of letters from the bishop which I have been looking over, there is hardly one which does not betray the use of the penknife (for erasing). It is curiously characteristic of that fastidiousness about language which earlier occupations had formed in him. I remember him saying to me

one day, as we came out of church, 'a very good 'sermon, very impressively delivered; but now you 'must forgive me for finding one fault—you inserted '"*to*" twice over in quoting the last answer of the 'Catechism, spoiling the grammar. It quite spoils 'the grammar—it does indeed.'*

'In another letter I find him taking me to task for having spoken of 'revising' the children's answers after an examination. A man may revise his own work, not another's. He was speaking of our prize examination, in which he ever took the liveliest interest, being nearly always present at the distribution, and addressing to the children words of affection which numbers and numbers in Staffordshire will remember as long as they live. At the Church congress the other day very many of those 2000 working men who received him so enthusiastically had as children received the Iron and Coal masters' prizes from his hands.

'In conversation he spoke very freely of persons as well as of opinions, but always deprecating extreme views, and always with a large charity. It was this

* 'Q. What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper? A. To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; [to] have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death: and [to] be in charity with all men.' It may not occur to every one that the two last clauses are governed by *whether they*, not by *purposing to:* you cannot purpose to have faith and charity, but you can examine yourself whether you have them.

readiness to acknowledge righteousness wherever he found it that made some say he belonged to no party. And yet no man was ever more loyal. He was loyal to his school, to his university, to our classical studies, to Horace especially, 'that prince of worldly-wise men' as he used to call him; to his friends, to the party which had founded in his youth the National Society; to the Prayerbook, to the English clergy as a body, whenever they were attacked; and most of all to those old fashioned virtues which some younger men were apt (as he thought) to underrate in comparison with the more attractive graces of our religion.

'He used to say, 'Well, you have told me that he 'is very zealous, and an eloquent preacher, and all 'that; but is he honest, is he sensible, is he a wise 'man?' This wisdom, 'this right judgment in all things' (as our Whitsuntide collect defines it) was what he valued beyond all price. Any education that failed to aim at this was in his eyes worthless. . . . . Mere cleverness in a parish schoolboy he never cared much for; but a really sensible, thoughtful answer used to delight him, almost drawing tears from his eyes. How he strengthened my hands and helped me with his counsel, and tried to bespeak for me on all occasions the confidence of his clergy when I first entered his diocese as an Inspector of schools, I shall most gratefully remember as long as I live.

'J. P. NORRIS.'

Here is a piece of another of his letters to Mr. Norris on a small literary question:

'I had no doubt about the feminine character of *slattern;* but I was not quite sure that *sloven* was exclusively male. I have consulted however Johnson and Richardson and Webster (are there any more? as Horne Tooke said when he had signed the 39 Articles), and I find that they all agree in making sloven only a man and slattern only a woman. Still I am not quite sure that a woman may not be slovenly; I do not think a man can be slatternly.'

The following letter, written a few days before he died, is of a theological character, though it was only in answer to one sending him a very bad epigram in Latin and English, of which the latter version is quite enough to print, and that only to make the letter intelligible:

'So Luther found the Paternoster long,
When doomed to say his beads at evensong.
But having cast his cowl and left those laws,
Adds to Christ's prayer the power and glory clause.'

'Eccleshall, 14 Oct. 1867.

'MY DEAR MR. MACKARNESS,—I thank you for letting me see the epigram, which I return. You may well call it 'a curious one.' It does not shew so much aberration of intellect as Mr. ——'s letters to

me. The Doxology appended to the Lord's prayer is rejected as spurious by the best critical editors of the Greek Testament, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf. Griesbach's words about it are 'certissime delenda.' It is not in the Vulgate: and the Romanists, I have heard, say that the Protestants have corrupted even the Lord's Prayer. But the Doxology found its way into the Prayer long before the Reformation. It is rejected also by many of the most learned Protestants, besides the editors named by me.

'Why Mr. —— (if I understand his lines rightly) charges Luther with using the Doxology, I do not understand: for Wetstein, in a learned note upon Matt. vi. 14, says that Luther makes no mention of it in his Catechism.

'Very sincerely yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

The next is again a letter to Mr. Harvey, which I print on account of the subject of it, the Warburtonian lectureship at Lincoln's Inn, to which the bishop wished his old friend Mr. Benson, formerly Master of the Temple, to be appointed; and he had apparently written to the archbishop of Canterbury (Sumner) for the purpose, who had perhaps asked Mr. Benson whether he would like it; but he never held the office.

'Bowness, Kendal, 7 Aug. 1848.

'MY DEAR HARVEY,—Your communication has found me here on a week's visit to my youngest daughter [whose husband was curate of Bowness].

'I thank you for letting me read Benson's clever and interesting letter. You make no remark upon the Archbishop's letter: nor does he. I thought it a very nice one. You say that you merely wrote to acquaint me with the great improvement in B's health and spirits. But you asked whether I could not get the Warburtonian lectureship offered to him: and it was with this view that I wrote to the Abp., and I am very glad, both for the sake of the Church and for Benson's, that I did so.

'If the lectureship is offered to him, I earnestly hope that he will accept it. He will surely have time 'thoroughly to prepare himself' for at the least the opening of the lectures; the general view of the subject being already settled in his mind. There are, if I mistake not, only four [three] lectures in each year. . . .

'Always most truly yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

This allusion to the Warburton Lectures requires some explanation. Bishop Warburton, in memory of his own preachership of Lincoln's Inn, provided a small endowment for a lecturer, who was to preach in the chapel there, and publish,

three sermons a year on prophecy for four years, with the consent of the Benchers. The first Lord Mansfield, L. C. J. Wilmot, and Charles Yorke, who died after being Lord Chancellor for a few days, were the first trustees of the endowment; and the preacher of Lincoln's Inn was to be preferred as lecturer. Accordingly bishop Hurd (the rather too obsequious follower of Warburton), who was then preacher, was the first lecturer. After him came Bishops Hallifax and Bagot, Dr. Pearson and T. Rennell, Christian Advocates of Cambridge, Archdeacons Nares, Lyall, and Harrison, J. Davison, whose lectures on Prophecy became a standard book, Dr. McCaul, the very learned writer of two essays in the 'Aids to Faith,' who had the misfortune to fall upon a time when learning was a disqualification in high places for promotion, Professor Maurice, E. B. Elliott, the author of Horæ Apocalypticæ (the mine which is so profitably worked by Dr. Cumming), and other persons of less note, until the present Preacher Mr. Cook, who was succeeded as Warburton lecturer by the Rev. B. M. Cowie. The lectures are now preached on the Sundays after Michaelmas and Hilary Terms and the first Sunday in March, subject to occasional exceptions.

But it was a mistake to suppose that the ap-

pointment belonged to the archbishop of Canterbury. Perhaps some archbishop had been a trustee, or had been generally consulted by the trustees, and the appointment had gradually been left to him. In some way or other it had come to be assumed that he had the appointment; and probably the assumption would have continued, but for an accident, not worth relating, in the lectureship of a second Elliott, who had been appointed by archbishop Sumner in 1858, on the principle which usually guided his appointments. This led us to look into the matter, and then the usurpation was discovered. The surviving trustee, Lord Mansfield, was requested to appoint two more; and then, for the first time since bishop Hurd, the preference directed to be given to the preacher of Lincoln's Inn was observed, and Mr. Cook became the lecturer for four years, on the expiration of Mr. H. B. Elliott's term in 1862. It seems rather to have been assumed that the Preacher was not to be the Warburton lecturer; otherwise Mr. Lonsdale would doubtless have been appointed himself by archbishop Howley in 1838. Thereby we have lost a book on Prophecy by him.

The next letters exhibit several of the Bishop's opinions; and one of them the care that he bestowed on the tracts sent for his inspection by

the Christian Knowledge Society, and the broadness of his views on such publications.

39 Harley Street, 1 May 1850.

'MY DEAR HARVEY,—If you continue to begin your letters to me as you do, I shall be driven to 'Rev. Sir.' You have written, I know, to me about my preaching at Hornsey in consequence of what I said, not seriously, to Mrs. Harvey. There is no reason, in rerum naturâ, why I should occupy a pulpit which never wants a worthy occupier; and in which I suspect your people are tired of seeing lawn sleeves. It is however always a pleasure to me to visit Hornsey rectory for any purpose. Nor have I at present any engagement for the 7th of July.

'I should have regretted not hearing Sortain's* lecture, had you not said what you have about its unintelligibility. I hope he is not falling into Coleridgianism; which has, in my opinion, greatly impaired the usefulness of some very able teachers. Why should you and the Bp. of Oxford have been unable to understand a lecture delivered in your own tongue, and not on a purely scientific subject? Your quotation from Benson is only too true. But the like has often been said before. And after all, we cannot do without Creeds and Prayer Books and Church Government; as all experience shows.

'Always most truly yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

* The late Rev. Joseph Sortain of Brighton.

'Eccleshall, 30 Jan. 1854.

'MY DEAR HARVEY,—Heavy as is the daily burden of my letters to me (a burden from which it is well nigh time that I should be relieved), I can assure you that your most kind letter of Saturday last was a real pleasure to me; though I have great cause of complaint in the formality of your style, after our very long friendship. . . . .

'I did not mean to complain to Browne of the new S. P. C. K. Tracts generally. But I did complain of one, 'The White Robe,' as being most flimsy. I had before expressed this opinion to Murray [their secretary then]: and I am sure that the putting of it on the catalogue will not do credit to the Society, or, I think, good in any way. I liked 'Contentment in hard times,' and still more, 'What is the use?' and I expressed my liking, in respect to the latter at least, when I made my report. But I hope that the Committee will let me make way for a better man.

'Surely they have nothing to do with 'the channel 'through which tracts come to them.' . . . .

'That you 'want good tracts against infidelity' I can well understand: and I fear you will want them more and more. But if they are not really good they will tend to confirm, rather than to convert, unbelievers and doubters.

'I do not see why a dissenter's tract should not be accepted, if anonymous, or if it do not appear that the author is a dissenter.

'I rejoice to receive a pretty good account of Benson. It is long since I read his Hulsean Lectures. So I know not whether they would take now. I do not remember that they needed abridgement.

'I cannot tell you how sincerely grieved I am to hear of poor Sortain's state. It is sad indeed that such a man should be so disabled. May God restore him.

'Ever most truly yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

These remarks on the S.P.C.K. publications (*i.e.* their religious ones, for their publications on general literature go through a different committee) remind me that he had undertaken before he was bishop to compile a book of Psalms and Hymns for them. I remember the proof sheets coming to him at Eccleshall. But unfortunately committees necessarily contain men of various degrees of taste, among whom there are generally some who have the felicitous art of taking the life out of every book and every sentence that they touch. He found his book of hymns rapidly becoming under that process such as would by no means come up to his standard; and so he dropped it. The Society have since published another, how far founded upon his I do not know. It does, at any rate, admit some hymns

of dissenters as he advised: for instance, the Advent hymn, which I have heard objected to as 'written by a dissenting blacksmith.' Whether it was or not, I suppose it is more widely used than any hymn on any day in the calendar.

The office which he spoke in this letter of resigning, was that of 'episcopal referee' of the religious tracts, which I have mentioned before. But he kept it till his death, and several of the Society's books were on his table then, with the notes which he had made upon them. As another prelate, even in the chair of their own public meeting, has warned that antient and useful Society that no amount of orthodoxy will compensate for dullness in literature, they will perhaps be helped by this reminder of their loss of bishop Lonsdale's hymn-book.

On this same subject of Hymns, I insert a letter to the Rev. E. Harland, vicar of Colwich, about a book of psalms and hymns compiled by him and dedicated to the bishop. He did not merely accept the dedication, on a general approval of the book; but Mr. Harland says that he examined every hymn in it, both at first and on the printing of each new edition, suggesting some himself, and particularly the first part of the Old Version of the 18th Psalm, 'O Lord my

strength and fortitude,' which was a favourite with him. In fact he originally suggested the compilation as a cheap hymn book, after the failure of his own attempt to get one to his mind through the S.P.C.K. Archdeacon Allen's 'Penny Church hymn book' had the same object and the same origin. The bishop suggested the insertion there of Cowper's hymn, 'Israel in ancient days,' and of Dryden's, 'Creator Spirit, by whose aid,' as a hymn for Trinity Sunday; and Dryden was a papist.

'Eccleshall, 18 July 1865.

'MY DEAR HARLAND,—I am very glad that you approve of my alterations of your Hymns. The stanzas, as you have now sent them to me, are I think, very nice.

'In your Marriage Hymn you have 'Son of Mary.' You are aware, I doubt not, that this designation of our Lord is strongly objected to by a certain class in our Church. One of this class, who has succeeded to a clergyman of another school in the incumbency of a populous parish in this diocese, and has found a hymn-book there which he cannot displace, has, I am told, publicly requested his congregation to substitute 'Born of woman' for 'Son of Mary,' when the latter words occur in a hymn given out to be sung.

'The objection appears to me to be highly unreasonable; for the words in question recognise an unquestionable fact; and when we have in Scripture (Acts i. 14) 'Mary the mother of Jesus,' I do not see why we may not address Jesus as the 'Son of Mary.' I do not therefore wish that you should give way to the objection: though we must avoid, if we can, offending weak brethren. But 'Holy Jesus' might very well be substituted for 'Son of Mary' in the Hymn to which I have referred.

'Very sincerely yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

His advice to the Society not to reject books because they were written by dissenters was only in accordance with his usual readiness to recognize whatever there was good in every man. In this, as in his behaviour to all men, he was no respecter of persons. A certain dissenting preacher went one evening to hear him preach in a town which he was visiting. The next day he saw him at the station, and went up to him and said, 'My 'Lord, I should not have treated that text as you 'did last night.' 'Well,' said the Bishop, 'and how 'would you have treated it?' And so they discussed it until the train came and parted them. Whatever else was the result of the discussion, the dissenter came away charmed with the bishop,

and probably with a different opinion of bishops in general from that which he had held before. This story was told a few days after his death by a friend of the dissenting preacher, who was present at the interview. The Independent minister at Eccleshall, with whom the Bishop was on friendly terms, joined his funeral procession, and put his own chapel in mourning for his death.

Although he could not tolerate intentional rudeness, and never quite forgot it, he was indifferent about any casual or ignorant omission of the usual marks of respect which was not intended to be offensive. But he never displayed the mock humility of depreciating the office of himself or his clergy, which we know is not inconsistent with abundant personal conceit and magnification of self.

'An old solicitor of his family in Yorkshire, whom he employed till his death at a great age lately, from some whim of his own, or possibly from mere ignorance, always addressed him as 'Dear Sir,' and he was more amused at it than offended. He once received a letter addressed 'The Rev. C. Lichfield,' and beginning 'Dear Lichfield,' sent to Eccleshall by mistake, asking for subscriptions to a book of poetry published by an old student of King's College London. He simply answered thus:

'The bishop of Lichfield presents his compliments to Mr. Thorpe, and will gladly become a subscriber to his book of poems, as any associations of King's College are always most pleasing to him.'

Of course his real object was to help the author (from whom this story comes) and to do it in the kindest way. But, for all this, his natural dignity was such that there were few men with whom it seemed more impossible to take a liberty.

Though he kept no accounts, and very few copies of his letters, trusting apparently to his memory and to memorandums in his pocket books, he was as exact in all matters of business as a banker. His solicitors, writing to his executors, 'beg to be allowed to add their testimony 'that among all their numerous correspondents 'they had none to be compared to him in punc-'tuality, accuracy, kindness, and courtesy.' The smallest thing that he undertook to do for anybody, no less than the greatest, was sure to be done, if it was possible. Many of his clergy thankfully remember the trouble he used to take in getting them grants from societies for their church and schools, and for their own private needs, and nominations for their children to schools, besides all that he did for them privately at his own expense.

I have mentioned several things from which it may be inferred that he had a very keen appreciation of the difference between gentlemen by nature or education and 'gentlemen' by courtesy. And he had a theory which may sound strange in these times—if that is to be called a theory which is an inference from long experience—that clergymen of the former class work harder and do better than those of the latter. He was not fond of those who, apparently by a slight abbreviation, are called 'literates.' Nevertheless he was swayed by no à priori presumptions of that kind in judging of every man by himself, and rewarding him according to his merits when he had the opportunity.

Some 'Mr. Worldly-wise-man' has said that he is most of a gentleman who is least given to asking questions. If that is true, bishop Lonsdale was no gentleman. But like most of such sayings, it is only true within the narrow limits of such men's vision. Questions of mere curiosity or impertinence *are* rude and ill mannered: but questions of sympathy are the first step to acts of sympathy. I boldly avow that he was fond of asking questions. He asked them of his clergy in order that he might learn the wants of themselves and their people, and know how to help them.

He asked questions of any persons possessing special knowledge, which pleased them by giving them the opportunity of teaching something to a bishop, while they saw that they were questions of intelligence and desire to learn, and not of indifference or condescension. He interrogated schoolboys in order that he might know what he had best tell them and talk about to them. And I will venture to say that nobody was ever offended by any question of his, or felt otherwise than pleased, and assured that it was meant for kindness, and that his sympathy and help were ready to be poured out for him the moment there was need of them.

But he had a much stronger mark of a gentleman than the observance of any such conventional rule as that. I never saw any one with whom it was so impossible to guess the rank of the person he was talking to, by his manner or the tone of his conversation. At his house and table, a curate innocent of aspirates, or an Irish deacon who assured him that 'he would find Justification by 'faith quite easy if he would only read his ser-'mon,' or a 'deputation' of angry churchwardens, received just the same attention as a nobleman, and yet without the least show of condescension. That story of the Irishman who came with his

printed sermon, to be ordained priest, was a favourite of his.* He told it at the last party that he had, a few days before he died; and also that another of the same nation said to him, 'Ah, my Lord, I know that you are not fond of *us*.' I have no doubt he gave him some courteous answer, not amounting to an absolute contradiction.

Without being anything of a wit, or as sharp in his replies as some of his brethren, past and present, he was very ready and happy in his answers to those who sought to entangle him in his talk; sometimes baffling them with a joke, and sometimes with a piece of unexpected learning. I remember one notorious disputant setting upon him in a large party with some theological argument, and the bishop answered, 'O Mr. —— woe be to the man who engages in an argument with you;' which the gentleman doubtless took in one sense and the rest of the company in another.

As he had been famous in his youth for the accuracy of his scholarship, so he was always remarkable for the accuracy and clearness of every-

* His predecessor bishop Butler had a sermon sent to him by a person of the same condition, on the text, 'I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.' He said to a friend of mine, who was with him when it came, 'All the counsel of God in a year! put it in the fire.'

thing he wrote and said. Indeed he had a special dislike and distrust of obscurity. We have seen (at p. 155) what he said of unintelligible lectures; and he had a strong persuasion that though a very able man may utter clumsy and involved sentences from carelessness or want of oratorical power, like Lord Eldon and Oliver Cromwell, yet that habitual obscurity of meaning — which is sometimes joined with great eloquence — arises from the writer or speaker not knowing distinctly what he means.

The bishop had remarkable capacity for transacting business both accurately and speedily. For the last few years I had the honour of a seat with him in his old council of King's College, which he attended whenever he was in London. And both in the chair of ordinary meetings and at the larger annual meetings of the corporation, at the last of which he presided in 1867, he managed the business with an ease, good humour, and rapidity, which made it a pleasure to every one to sit with him. He could always flavour business with good humour, without the least sacrifice of either time or dignity.

At one of those meetings we had a striking instance of his memory. A candidate—with unquestionable testimonials, as usual—had been all

but appointed to an office in the College. The bishop said, 'I think I remember a man of that 'name being in my diocese with anything but 'a desirable reputation.' The appointment was of course suspended; and he wrote a letter on the spot to the vicar of the place where he remembered the man being a curate; and it turned out—that he was right. It is easy to say this might have been an accident, and might have happened with anybody. With one who was not famous for his knowledge and recollection of men and their characters and business, it would only have been an accident and not worth recording; but with him it was the kind of accident which happened whenever there was occasion for it.

There are men so clever that you have to be always on the watch in doing business with them, lest you should find that in some way or other you have been outwitted, or committed to something you did not intend. And there are others, from whom it is said no one ever goes away without feeling that he has been humbled—sometimes rudely, sometimes with all the forms of politeness, but with the most determined selfishness and vanity, and possibly illnature, gleaming through it all. To say that bishop Lonsdale was neither of these is to say nothing: for he was the very

opposite. If he could not gratify those who came to him by acceding to their requests, he did all he could to convince them that his reasons for refusing were good ones, and that he refused unwillingly. If his own convenience only was involved he was sure to yield, if the thing was possible. As for his taking advantage of his position, or his knowledge, or of other people's ignorance, for getting his own way by any of those feats of dexterity which are hardly thought unfair, such things were altogether impossible to him. But he understood and appreciated those who did them. I remember his giving me a significant look when a great speaker was persuading a meeting of one of the religious Societies to vote—no matter what. I said to him afterwards, 'What 'did you think of ——'s speech.' He answered, 'I was thinking how much better he would have 'spoken on the other side.'

In order to ascertain some dates we had to read a number of his most private letters, which had come back into his hands, and had escaped destruction, written in a trying correspondence, partly on business, when he was young, and when he admitted that his temper was warm; but, he added most truly, 'I defy my worst enemy to say I have been ever hard to deal with.' They are

not letters to be published; but they showed us that he was even then the same forbearing, liberal, and humble-minded man that the world knew him to be half a century afterwards. Not that he did not improve as he grew older. Whatever faults of temper he may have had were gradually thrown off; he acquired more repose; and some of the best points of his character came out more strongly every year. One who had known him intimately for a long time said this to me more than once while he was alive, when such remarks are more striking, because more likely to be impartial, than after a man is dead.

Some persons who are courteous and pleasant abroad, under the restraints of society, and anxious to preserve a character for urbanity, are indifferent to the comfort and pleasure of their own households. Others again, who think enough and more than enough of their own flesh and blood, are careless about the welfare of anybody else. This man had no two sides: he was always the same behind the scenes as before them. In an inquiry at King's College the other day an eminent man who was a professor there in his time said to the committee, 'Whatever Mr. Lonsdale said to your face you might be quite sure he would do behind your back.' The only difference was that the closer you had the opportunity of watching him,

and the deeper you saw into his character, the more you found to admire.

A multitude of small acts of kindness cannot be put together into a catalogue; and single specimens are apt to look insignificant. But still I give them. An old curate of Eccleshall, during some of the bishop's first years there, writes that he was more of a father to him than a bishop. When he was left alone there in his vicar's absence, the bishop often helped him in the service; generally of course by arrangement a day or two before. One Sunday morning when no such arrangement had been made, the bishop came down to his lodgings before breakfast to ask if he could help him, and took part of both the morning and evening service for him. At the same time he was specially careful not to obtrude himself upon the vicar as if he were exercising the bishop's right to preach; and he often read the prayers. On Sundays when he was at home he generally went down to the parish school; but there also he never interfered as having authority, but only acted like any other voluntary teacher.

As he grew old and his work increased with the increase of his clergy and the population of the diocese, he preferred resting on Sundays, when he was allowed to do so by being left at

home. Moreover the parish has for some years had a vicar always resident, besides a curate; so that there has been less need of the bishop's assistance. He once received a message on a Saturday that a country parish was suddenly deprived of its clergyman. So he drove to the place himself and did all the Sunday duty, not merely giving them one service but both. Last year, when he was in London, he went every day for some time to see an old clergyman from the diocese who was dying.

He took in a large family of children at the Castle for three weeks, while their father and mother were removing their furniture to a better living, which he had given them. Neither should his readiness to take long journeys to gratify his friends beyond the diocese by marrying their daughters, or by preaching at the openings of organs or churches, be forgotten: least of all by me, for he came no less than three times to Doncaster; once for the first of those purposes in my family, once for the second, and at the simultaneous opening of the two new churches there, the rebuilt parish church, and St. James's for the railway people, in October 1858.

I do not record these things as implying that no other bishops do them, but because they all go to make up the picture and the character of this

great man: a character which will live as a whole in memory and tradition long after the details of it have been all forgotten. The memory of bishop Wilson saved his little insular diocese from extinction after it was doomed, though it is difficult to say now what he did, or left behind him, except a little book of prayers.

It was then by no conventional form of speech that he said in his answer to the address of his clergy (p. 124) that he 'had endeavoured to be 'the servant of all;' or that he spoke of himself as 'the brother clergyman' of the one whom he was rebuking for misconduct (p. 145). His only answer to requests that he would go anywhere, to do other work of his office, was his pocket book. Had he an engagement already which prevented it? If not, he almost always went. Winter and summer were alike to him, even after the winter of his age had set in. If those who wanted a church consecrating, or a meeting to be held which he was to address, were content to take their chance of bad weather, he was. He had often talked of resigning, but he had at last made up his mind to go on until he should be stopped by another hand than his own. If he lived to feel that he could do his work no more as he was wont to do it, he meant to resign; and whether the work he did hastened the end or

not, he did not care. His only maxim was that of his Master, 'I must work the work of him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh.'

As a final illustration of his readiness to undertake any duty, where there was a chance of his doing good, I print here perhaps the very last letter that he wrote, to the chaplain of the gaol at Shrewsbury, when the hand of death was already lifted: for it was one of those final twenty, at the end of which he said, 'those letters are too much for me,' and then rested for ever.

'Eccleshall, 19 Oct. 1867 Saturday.

'My dear Sir,—Absence from home for diocesan work in North Staffordshire has prevented me from receiving your kind letter till to-day.

'I should be ashamed of myself if I did not willingly comply with your request that I should visit your poor prisoners.

'Your desire that I should do this is a very gratifying evidence of your pastoral anxiety for their welfare. I am—please God—to be at Shrewsbury on Friday next the 25th, for confirmation at St. Mary's at 3 p.m.: and I would visit the prison either immediately after the confirmation, or the next morning, as might best suit your arrangements.

'Believe me &c.

'J. Lichfield.

'The Rev. James Denning.'

This completes what occurs to me to say of his general work as a bishop; I add a few more personal characteristics before I reach the account of his last days. And first I will mention one which is always appreciated, though it is often more of a natural gift than the result of calm and well-founded confidence in the future. Though he was sometimes anxious and fidgety in small ailments and troubles, he was unmoved and fearless in great ones; and in the greatest he never forgot his consideration for others. He was once thrown out of a carriage which his daughter-in-law was driving, in consequence of his trying to make a bad horse go faster; and he was at first thought to be seriously hurt, though fortunately he was not. The first thing that he said when he came to himself was, 'Now mind, if anything happens, it was all my fault.' He was in several railway accidents, and once much shaken, a year before his death, though not injured. After the train had stopped in one of them, generally a dangerous state of things from the chance of others running into it, he went to sleep. A few years ago he was caught in a storm in the western isles of Scotland, and was in great danger for a time; when it was over they found him quietly sitting out of the way of the

sailors in the boat, up to his knees in water; and the men truly said he was 'a plucky old gentleman.'

I have said, in speaking of his confirmations, that he won the affections of the children no less than of their elders. He not only knew how to talk to them, as he did to everybody, but was not above playing with them. A clergyman writes that he once missed the bishop who was visiting him, and looking out of the window saw one of the children driving him round the garden as a horse. In the midst of all his work he would find time to write letters, and not very short ones, to his grandsons at school, of which I will give two specimens presently; and if he heard anything likely to be interesting to any of his family he would take the trouble to write it himself instead of merely sending us a message. I had two such letters from him last summer.

'9 Holles Street London, W.
24 Feb. 1865.

'MY DEAR HARRY,—You have been very kind in inquiring about my hand; and so I am desirous of showing you that I can use it again: though, as the doctor tells me that I must not use it too much, aunt Lucy still writes many letters for me.

'I have seen several of your letters; and from the

tone of them I think that I cannot have been mistaken in my conclusion that you are now very happy at Winchester. I was very glad to hear that you had got into a room in which there is much less fagging.

'The result of your examination after the holidays gave me great pleasure and did you great credit: for though you did not get the prize, because you failed in French, it was no little thing to be spoken of as having done remarkably well in other things, and to stand second, and above all to be put up. You have got a good name at Winchester, and I have no doubt that you will keep it. [Unfortunately he had to leave Winchester from illness soon after this.] I have no fear as to your continuing to work steadily, and I know that your reward will be certain.

'I was much amused by your account of the battle, bloody though it was, between you Collegers and your neighbours the Commoners. It put me in mind of the fights between the North and South in America. Though you, like the Southerners there, were greatly overmatched in numbers, you made a gallant stand, as they have done. You have not yet read Juvenal. When you do, you will come to a passage which your account brought to my recollection, and which, I fear represents the state of feeling between C. and C. at Winchester:

'Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
'Immortale odium et nunquam sanabile vulnus,
'Ardet adhuc.'

As you fought with snowballs, one might almost put 'friget' for 'ardet.'

'I hope that there was no bodily 'vulnus' in your conflict that has not proved 'sanabile.'

'I do not wonder at your finding Alcaics difficult at first. But the metre is a fine one; and I dare say that you will write very good Alcaics some day.

'Praying that God's blessing may be with you, I am always,

'My dear Harry,

'Your affectionate Grandpapa,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

'Mr. H. A. Bryans.'

Holles Street London, W.
27 Feb. 1865.

'MY DEAR HARRY,—I am much pleased by your answering my letter so soon, and by your letter too. But we are very sorry to hear that you are in 'Sick House!' and we shall rejoice to know that you are out of it again.

'I have just written to Miss Zornlin to thank her for her kindness in inviting you. I fear that you will hardly be allowed to take part in the 'athletic sports' of which you speak. But I shall be glad to hear that you are strong enough to do this.

'Thank you for the list of books which you are now reading. They put me in mind of Eton days. The Hippolytus is a beautiful play, and I am sure

that you will think so, when you are master of it. I can repeat parts of it now:

Πέμπετε μ' εἰς ὄρος, εἶμι πρὸς ὕλην, κ.τ.λ.[1]

'You say, "Did you ever hear of such a theme for verse task as the Egyptians overthrown in the Red Sea"? Certainly I have; for I wrote a long "holiday task" at Eton upon "Ægyptiorum Israelitas insequentium clades," and I can remember many of the lines now; but they were hexameters. [They are printed at p. 314.]

'I congratulate you heartily on your "six places." I hope that it will be up, up, up, still with you.

'Aunt Lucy sends her love to you: and I am always,

'My dear Harry,

'Your affectionate Grandpapa,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

He never forgot to write to his own children on their birthdays, though for some reason or other he disliked his own being noticed: certainly not because he cared about being reminded of his age, for he had the same dislike when he was young, and he continually talked of growing too old for his work. Latterly he was unwilling to get new furniture, though he used to like it, and was last year persuaded with difficulty to

have a new set of robes, though his old ones were shabby, because he believed he should not want them. Some persons may like to see specimens of these letters; and though they contain only a few loving words, they are such as few men can write. The variety of all the annual letters of this kind which have been kept is as great as if he had always remembered the previous ones and determined to avoid any repetition.

'Eccleshall, 22 Feb. 1860.

'MY DEAR FANNY,—I have yesterday's and to-day's bundles of letters before me this morning; and so I cannot write to you in many words. But many words are not necessary for me to say how heartily I wish you many happy returns of to-morrow; and how sensible I am of your affectionate kindness to me on all occasions.

'Ever, my dear Fanny,

'Very affectionately yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.

'I ought to have thanked you yesterday for the use of your carriage on Monday. It was a great convenience to me.'

This postscript is one of innumerable instances which might be given of his care to acknowledge the smallest attention that was paid to him, or the

least service that any one performed for him. I am tempted to give one more illustration of that.

'33 Queen Anne Street, 31 July 1855.

'MY DEAR FANNY,—We are just starting for Staffordshire. But I do not like to leave your house without thanking you for your truly kind and very convenient and seasonable hospitality. Nothing could have been more comfortable than we have found everything: no attention could have been greater than that of your servants.

'The only want has been that of the presence of the host and hostess. I hope the air of Ben Rhydding is doing you good. Netty [his niece, who then lived with him] sends her love. Mine to Denny.

'Ever affectionately yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

The next is again a birthday letter, and is written feebly and with difficulty, like that one to his grandson which speaks of the weakness of his hand.

'9 Holles Street, 23 February 1865.

'MY DEAR FANNY,—Goodness and mercy, I may well say, have followed me all the days of my life.

'But I have had no greater blessing than my children: and so it is an expression of thankfulness,

as well as of love, to wish you many happy returns of this day.

'This I do with all my heart, being always,

'Your very affectionate father,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

I add one more letter, of congratulation to Dr. Kennedy on his being appointed, ultimately by the Chancellor of the University on account of an equality of votes of the electors, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, to which a canonry of Ely is attached.

'Eccleshall, 26 Feb. 1867.

'MY DEAR KENNEDY,—I should have written to express the hearty satisfaction with which I heard last evening of your appointment, so richly deserved, so well earned, if I had not received your kind letter this morning. Pray accept my hearty congratulations and best wishes.

'I think that your unfruitful prebendal stall at Lichfield will become vacant by your installation to a fruitful one at Ely. . . .

'I was very glad to hear that you were going to examine for the Newcastle scholarship with my son James. I hope that your professorship will make no difference as to this.

'I am always

'Very sincerely yours,

'J. LICHFIELD.'

Although (as I said before) he was not a wit or a sayer of 'good things,' like bishop Blomfield, whose jokes and ready answers he often quoted, there were few persons so agreeable in company; and in all companies alike. Among literary men, ecclesiastics, lawyers, medical men (of whom he used to have many at his table when Principal of King's College), candidates for orders, 'county families,' and other laymen and women, people new to him or old acquaintances, at dinner after a long day's confirmations, or at breakfast before them, he was always equal to the occasion and to the best man among the company; yet he never aimed at showing off himself, or took more than his share of conversation. Like all great men, he had a lively sense of humour; many a good story which we heard was kept for him, and it was pleasant to see how he enjoyed and repeated them.

Here is one, of a kind which he particularly enjoyed: A blustering man in a railway carriage said, 'I should like to meet that bishop of ——, I'd put a question to him that would puzzle him.' 'Very well,' said a voice out of another corner, 'then now is your time, for I am the bishop of' [it may easily be guessed what]. The man was rather startled, but presently recovered,

and said, 'Well, my Lord, can you tell me the way to heaven?' 'Nothing is easier,' answered the bishop; 'you have only to turn to the right, and go straight forward.' Among the stories of bishop Blomfield (not already published in his Life) our bishop was fond of this one, which was current at Bowness, where he spent several of his summer holidays. One day when the bishop of London was just starting for a journey among the lakes, the waiter told him a gentleman wanted to see him. A rather freely-talking person to whom he was complaining of being so stopped said, 'I should think you d(ee)d the waiter:' he answered, 'No, I *seed* the gentleman.' Again, he was asked, when he was an archdeacon, to certify that a parsonage required some repairs, which belonged to a man who had stuffed birds and beasts all over it, and who said to him, 'You see this staircase is very weak:' he answered, 'Well, I am sure it smells strong enough.'

Our bishop was not merely fond of humour, but possessed singularly constant good humour of his own. I never saw a man, especially an old man, who seemed to enjoy all the pleasant things of life, great and small, with the youthfulness and freshness of spirit that he did. He rejoiced over a fine view, a picture or a building which

he liked, the flowers in his garden,* the noise of children, which he would never allow to be stopped, even close to his door, the news of anyone's good fortune, visits from his children or friends, and his own work, except when it was oppressive. He was never in low spirits unless he was unwell. Though he had sometimes an oddly plaintive tone in his voice it was always ready to turn into a joyful one, and was sometimes used for saying things by no means melancholy. The Master of the Temple was once travelling over the diocese with him to S.P.G. meetings, and he was taking a young curate in the carriage, who looked very much astonished at the Bishop exclaiming in that same plaintive voice, 'O Robinson, they have no such fun at Cambridge now as we had.' I only tell the story, and do not vouch for the Bishop's conclusion.

He had been both a shooter and fisher in his youth, especially the latter; and only the year before he died he went out fishing with some young people in a boat on the lake called Cop Mere near Eccleshall. He was also (shocking as it may appear to some persons) fond of the

* Horticulturists may like to know that the memorandums at the ends of his pocket books were chiefly the names of flowers which he had seen in his visits and meant to order for his own garden.

theatre; and used to regret that custom and public opinion prevented him from going there. If a play is an immoral one it is bad for everybody to see; but if it is not, and is a good one, he saw no reason why clergymen, and even bishops, should not enjoy it. But so long as the world thinks it safer for young ladies than for bishops to take their chance of being corrupted by the theatre he would by no means offend the world. He truly followed the maxim, 'Serve God and be cheerful,' which is attributed to one of the greatest of his predecessors, Bishop Hackett; who rebuilt the great spire of the Cathedral after the rebellion.

For in old times it was always the bishop who is spoken of as doing all that was done in building and improving the cathedrals. The deans of those days are hardly ever mentioned. Now, the bishops seem to have lost all power over their cathedrals, and to exercise not more but less jurisdiction there than in their parish churches; being excluded even from preaching there except by invitation, or in their turn as prebendaries if they happen to be such, as the bishop of Lichfield is, holding the prebend of Eccleshall; which however is only what he called in his letter to Dr. Kennedy an 'unfruitful stall,'

as the bishop's prebend of Exeter will be after the next vacancy (see p. 38 note).

Something more than the interest of mere curiosity belongs to the personal habits of men who keep their full powers both of mind and body ten years beyond the period generally given them by nature, even as long ago as the time of Moses, who wrote the 90th Psalm, though he was himself an eminent exception to the rule. Bishop Lonsdale's habits, so far as they were likely to affect his health, are soon described, by saying he was always temperate in all things. As I pointed out at p. 9, he inherited a disposition to longevity, which sometimes oddly enough accompanies even a sickly constitution and an unhealthy life, and his was a singularly healthy one. For such ailments as he had were never serious, and for the most part were rather of the nature of warnings against working too long, and neglecting daily exercise, a neglect which (fortunately) he always paid for speedily before receiving any lasting damage from it.

He was remarkably indifferent about what he ate, and about the time of his meals, except his breakfast. His early rising has been already noticed; and the time of breakfast at Eccleshall, or

at any rate of the prayers before it, was never extended beyond 9 o'clock, even for visitors of the most luxurious or lazy habits at home: generally it was 8.30. There is no private chapel, as there is in many bishops' palaces, and prayers were said in his room. In short the usual mode of life there was in all respects like that of an ordinary parsonage where there is no 'res angusta domi,' except that more servants were necessarily kept, on account of the frequent company. The animated conversation about meats and drinks, which some persons delight in, was never heard at his table, for he particularly disliked it. And yet he often expressed his pleasure at some very simple fare which was provided for him at other houses.

He had a great antipathy to dark and sunless rooms, and hardly ever came into one in his own house without pulling up the blinds if they were down; and he used to be annoyed if the servants pulled down the blinds of his room when he was staying in other houses. He cared nothing about his furniture, considering it only for use, and would not tolerate the loss of sunlight for the sake of it. His own study window fortunately looked south and he seldom shut out the sun. It is by no means impossible that this contributed some-

thing to his good health, for I suppose the comparative unhealthiness of sunless rooms is now generally admitted. He was a sound and ready sleeper; and like some other great men, was able to use any convenient opportunity for sleep. Unless he was kept awake by talking, a very different thing from work, he generally slept a little after dinner, as Sir Astley Cooper did; giving credit to nature for knowing better than the doctors who tell people it is wrong: whereas it is only their too great dinners that are wrong.

So soon after his death it may seem superfluous to describe his appearance; but it cannot even now be known to everybody. He was rather tall and thin, with high but broad shoulders, and in other respects of a good figure, and particularly in the limbs which bishops are specially called on to display. His head was large and well shaped, as usual with men of his wisdom and power of influencing others, and not of mere cleverness. His eyes were large, and bluer than are often seen, though his hair was dark while he was young; it turned grey early, and for a long time was very white, but thick until the few last years: he was never bald.

I have selected for the frontispiece what is thought the best of the many photographs which

he was asked to sit for, except one which has been too often copied to be used again: it was taken a few months before his death. He never wasted his time and money in sitting for a portrait in oil; for there is no series of pictures of bishops of Lichfield to be kept up, as there is in some of the palaces; and no human fingers can draw a likeness equal to the sun. Those who only knew him when he was old will hardly believe that he was far from handsome while he was young, as I can remember, and as even his wife used to say. But such men as he was improve in beauty as their years increase, and the more evidently if they have had little of the beauty of youth. On the other hand we too often see once handsome faces steadily degrading; not merely losing the fair beauty of youth, as of course they must, but acquiring no other. Are not the changes sometimes visibly begun in this life which will be completed in another?

CHAPTER V.

HIS LAST DAYS.

IN Bishop Lonsdale's 75th year both the English primacies were vacant, as they had been before within a year of each other, when he was 60. A report has been current that on one of these occasions (I do not know which is meant) he refused the archbishopric of York. And I was once so confidently assured by an intimate friend of his own that he was offered the bishopric of London, that I thought it worth while to settle the question by asking him, though I had myself no doubt about it. Considering the reputation he enjoyed so long, and his unobnoxiousness to all parties, such rumours were natural enough. But the fact was not so: no offer of translation was ever made to him, to either primacy, on any one of the four vacancies, or to London, or Durham, which was thrice vacant in his time. As for the last, a merely richer bishopric was most unlikely to be offered to him by the Prime Minister who had to give it all those three times. London, which was resigned by bishop Blomfield in

September 1856, simultaneously with Durham by bishop Maltby (see p. 39), would certainly have been refused by our bishop, who was then not far from 70. So, I have no doubt, would Durham; and his family know that he had resolved to refuse either primacy if they should be offered (as many people expected) in 1862, when he had begun to talk of resigning and wished for the provostship of Eton (p. 35). But the compliment was not paid him.

When Archbishop Harcourt's 40 years'* primacy came to an end in 1847, a Yorkshire clergyman, who told me the news in London, added 'I hope we shall have your bishop.' I answered 'No you wont; you will have T. Musgrave.' That divination did not require from a Cambridge man much recollection of the past, or of the principles of the then Prime Minister's appointments. Archbishop Musgrave was however an honest, sensible, liberal, and goodnatured man; and if his primacy was not glorious it is memorable for no evil. A translation to the archbishopric of York would have been no lightening

* One of our bishop's predecessors, James Cornwallis (who became Earl Cornwallis a year before he died), was bishop of Lichfield and Coventry for 43 years, from 1781 to 1824; but he was also dean of Durham, which in those days was better than many bishoprics.

of bishop Lonsdale's work, as he would have done it, or as it is done now; though the popular idea of it then was that it was merely a richer and more dignified bishopric of a rather easy character: whereas it is one of the largest dioceses, besides being the Metropolis of six bishoprics and seven counties—and an island; involving, in these days of commissions and meetings and continual legislation and debates on church matters, a great amount of business to be done in London, by any archbishop who does not mean to acquiesce in being a quasi suffragan of Canterbury. Perhaps (but here I am only guessing) our bishop would have liked in 1847 to be the archbishop of his own county, to which he always retained a warm attachment, as indeed he did to every place with which he had ever been connected. But no one ever heard from him the least repining at the neglect with which he was treated ever after Sir Robert Peel's retirement.

The following January archbishop Howley died; and then it was reported for a few days by persons about the Court that the bishop of Lichfield was to succeed. No less a person than Lord Lyndhurst believed it, and told a friend of the bishop's that it was so; and several newspapers announced it. But it afterwards came out,

through a bishop who was an intimate friend of the Prime Minister, that Lord Russell and one of his colleagues insisted on having an archbishop of more decidedly 'anti-high-church' opinions. The author of the 'Letter to the bishop of Durham,' which the people of England took to be aimed at 'Papal aggression,' as it nominally was (and so its author had to go on as if it had been), and not at the 'putting down of Puseyism' (to use bishop Maltby's own phrase), as it really was, thought this was the way to effect that object: nor was he very likely to promote willingly a bishop of Sir Robert Peel's creation. And so the elder of the two Sumners was brought up from Chester to the seat of St. Augustine. It is remarkable that the other was asked to take the seat of Wolsey when it was again vacant, soon after his brother's death in 1862; but the possessor of Winchester on the old unreduced scale was wiser than to make that change.

Of archbishop Sumner's reign at Canterbury no one can desire to say much. Of him personally it may be truly said that he was an amiable, zealous, pious, and simple-minded man, not spoilt in his private character by elevation. But it must be added that he was eminently one of those who do not gain but lose in reputation by being

advanced from a secondary place to the highest. And I suppose no one doubts now that his advancement was, to say the least of it, a mistake for the object that was aimed at. The only wonder is how any other result could be expected from promoting a weak man of strong opinions into such a place as that. Archbishop Howley did materially check the progress of ritualistic innovations for a time by a letter to the clergy of England in 1845. A similar manifesto by his successor in 1851 fell as flat as if it had been an article in the Record, though it was backed by the signatures of nearly all his brethren. But archbishop Howley was not a partisan; and his character for wisdom and learning and moderation gave his words a weight which his successor's never had anywhere, and caused him to be accepted as a kind of Speaker of the Church of England, in spite of oratorical defects greater than his successor's; who was only regarded as the representative of one section of the Church—and that a section whose decline and fall dates from about the time of his exaltation.

His frequent legal miscarriages presented an unpleasant contrast to what would have been the case with an archbishop of a more judicial turn of mind. And if he satisfied the expectations of

his party, he certainly did not raise it or himself in public esteem, by his ejectment of Dr. Maitland, one of the most learned men in England, selected for that reason by his predecessor, from the librarianship of Lambeth (a rock which archbishops seem destined to run foul of), who moreover had made that library more available than it ever was before. But it is superfluous to go on with illustrations of the consequences of promoting one man because he had very nearly the greatest of all disqualifications for the Primacy of all England, and thrusting aside another because he had it not; to say nothing of his undoubted superiority in every positive qualification.

The experiment begun with archbishop Sumner was nevertheless continued with a kind of desperation for 14 years more,* and seems to have reached a degree of success which would give the author of a canonical epistle, the first bishop of Jerusalem, little chance of ordination as a deacon in one

* It is fair to say that some of the bishops appointed on that principle have disappointed the hopes of the party to whose connection they owed their promotion. But others have probably exceeded them. Some years ago a really learned bishop was driven by questions and remarks in the House of Lords out of a system of examination for Orders which was alleged to narrow 'the fair limits of the Church of England' (again using bishop Lonsdale's phrase). If a certain bishop now is not maligned it is high time for another inquiry, to put a stop to worse tyranny in the opposite direction.

diocese at least. At last the astute indifference of Lord Palmerston perceived that he was selling the Church of England for nothing to a party which was all the time steadily decaying, and only gaining ridicule instead of praise for his appointments. Bishop Lonsdale in his later years often remarked on that decay, and contrasted the condition of that party with what it was in the early days of his episcopate. They were just strong enough to vex him to the end—and to hasten it. Among other signals of distress I see that one of their leaders has been beseeching the dissenters to come to his aid, and promising (in whose name he does not say) what shall be done for them if they will.

I leave this subject by saying that I am far from believing that the bishop of Lichfield was disappointed at not having to decide whether he should accept or decline the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1848. Its sole recommendation to him would have been the diminution of his work. The state and ceremony and responsibility of such a place were all unsuited to his taste and his distrust of his own powers, unfounded as such distrust was. But it is impossible to doubt that one who did all things well that he ever put his hand to, a man pre-eminent for all the qualities which an archbishop ought to have, would have been

equally distinguished in that place, which every impartial man for 20 years has said that he ought to have filled. If he had gone there in 1848 we should have seen less vacillation lately about the opposition bishopric of Natal (see p. 94). It is not his fame that has suffered by his being left to die of his work in one of the largest and poorest dioceses because he was neither a political nor a religious partisan.

About three years before his death we had the first warning of what his end would be. In November 1864 he was staying in my house, and sat up late to answer his letters, which were sent to him from Eccleshall by the evening post. He was, as I said before, singularly indifferent to physical science, and had no idea that he was running any risk by working at his age so late at night, besides getting up very early in the morning, as he always did. I persuaded him then to go to bed at his usual time, about ten, though he could not be persuaded to write no more after dinner. About Christmas he came again (when I was away) and again wrote letters till a late hour one Saturday night. The next day his right hand seemed to be weak, but he told my wife nothing of it, probably expecting it would recover. But

on Monday the evil could be concealed no longer, for he could not write as usual. There was some difference of opinion about the cause; but the London doctors agreed that it was a very slight paralytic stroke. Then it was that he dictated his letters for a time, to his eldest daughter, or to the former governess of his three daughters, and afterwards of Lord Lyndhurst's, a lady whose extensive and accurate knowledge must be remembered by many in the diocese; and sometimes Mr. Good, the vicar of Eccleshall, kindly came to help him. But his hand was gradually restored, and then he would have no more help; he took the warning however and wrote no more at night.

His last appearance in London was at the Lambeth or 'Pan-Anglican' Congress of bishops in communion with the English Church in September 1867. As the wisest thing they did was keeping their debates private, there is no account of any part he may have taken in them; and whatever else he told us he said nothing of himself. But he did not go there very willingly, and expected no more practical fruit of such a synod than his brother of St. David's; who came after all, his caustic letter to the archbishop notwithstanding, and added his name, like our

bishop, to the 'Encyclical epistle,' which was (for the time) the only visible result of the meeting. It is no longer any secret, for I have heard it in various places, that the reason of that document being at once so disappointing and so harmless was that the prudent party in the Congress were strong enough to strike out of it exactly that which its author probably considered its most valuable part. With their later doings I am not concerned.

It is remarkable that the last act of the assembled protestant bishops of the world was the recognition of bishop Lonsdale's antient fame for Latin scholarship, by asking him to translate their manifesto into the universal language. Possibly his friends may not regret that, while he received the compliment, his name was saved from being specially associated with that production; for the translation was not finished to his satisfaction when he died. In this respect, as in others of more consequence, he may be said to have been 'felix opportunitate mortis.'

When the bishop of Worcester declined to sanction the Church Congress of 1867 being held in that city, the bishop of Lichfield was asked to let it be held under him at Wolverhampton;

and he consented; though at first he declared that he would not preside, as he said afterwards in his address at the opening. However when he was more formally requested he would not refuse; and as usual, when he had put his hand to the plough he did not turn back, but went into the business heartily and warmly, and said all that could be said in favour of the congress. He did more than that: he found that most of the clergy who call themselves 'evangelical' were holding back from it, and he tried to persuade them to come in. For he thought the chief advantage of such meetings was the bringing together of persons of diverse opinions, in order that they might learn how much they have in common. But I had better let him give his reasons for himself, especially as I have been asked to let that address have a place here, as it was thought by some persons that this, the most public speech he ever made, and all but the last, was also the best.

A hasty reader may well be misled by its great simplicity and ease into overlooking the cleverness and ability of the arguments in favour of such congresses. On account of its length I read it several times over to see whether any of it could be omitted without spoiling the effect of the whole,

and I find that it is all so compact and fitted together that I must not meddle with it, beyond omitting a few local and temporary allusions. It is hardly necessary to invite attention to the beauty of the composition, and above all, of the concluding sentences, and their harmony with the great object of his life.

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I find myself placed here in a position which some time ago I did not at all expect. The determination to hold the present Church congress at Wolverhampton was sudden and unexpected; and when it was determined on I was desirous that the presidency should be committed to some younger man; but I was assured that that would not be according to the mind of the promoters. I felt also that, so long as I held my office, and while my present health and strength are mercifully continued to me, I ought not to shrink from the discharge of a duty which seemed naturally to belong to my office, and which in every former instance, with a single exception, has been discharged by the Bishop in whose diocese the Congress was held. I have therefore only to express my confidence that in my endeavours to discharge this duty I shall experience from those assembled here from various dioceses the same indulgent kindness as during a period of nearly 24 years has been so abundantly shown to me by the clergy and laity of my own. . . . .

We are permitted, God be thanked, to meet at another congress. Such meetings are so far now from being new and strange things to us, that it would be but little better than waste of words, especially after what we heard from the preacher of this morning, were I to speak at large upon the principles which regulate them, or upon the objects which they have in view. We are met as those who are entirely persuaded that the Reformed, Scriptural, Apostolical, and Catholic Church of England has a mission from God to be His instrument for maintaining and diffusing both at home and abroad a knowledge of His truth, and for being His minister for good, spiritual and temporal, to his people. We are not met to answer objections to the order of our Church, nor to consider the grounds upon which it rests; but, if it may be, to suggest the means, and I would fain hope, to stimulate the exertions, by which the Church may be enabled more thoroughly to fulfil her mission, and to fight a better fight against the hideous array of ignorance, irreligion, and vice against which it has to contend. If we are met together, as I trust we are, in a right spirit, we may humbly hope that under God's blessing we shall not have met in vain.

I am aware that the value and even the wisdom of these meetings have been questioned by some, but I never heard any distinctly stated ground upon which such questioning is based. If a congress for the pro-

motion of 'social science' is regarded as calculated to promote social order, social comforts, social happiness, surely we may look for the like effect to a congress on account of a great time-honoured institution which has continually for its aim the elevation of all classes of society and the spread of beneficial and divinely sanctioned principles. The very bringing of so many clergy and laity together for such a purpose, thus solemnly reminding them of their religious relations to each other, their own interest in the Church, and their own obligation to do what in them lies to invigorate its spiritual life and to extend its saving influences, must be of itself a gain of no common magnitude.

It is said indeed that the intercommunication of studies, feelings, thoughts, and experience may be accomplished not less efficiently through the medium of the press. We all know the constant and ever-increasing facilities which the press affords for this; but we know also, and we feel too, that there is a life in personal communication which cannot otherwise be generated. We all know that when persons living at a distance, but connected in a common enterprise, meet to take open counsel together with each other for its advance, an interest is created which has a great effect on many minds. I appeal to the feelings and experience of those in this room for a confirmation of what I say.

Again it is said that no important fruits from these periodical meetings of Church Congresses are apparent. We are not competent to judge in this matter. Many things operate for good, both to individuals and communities, of which the working is gradual and almost insensible, but the effect is nevertheless real and enduring. I believe this is so in the case before us. I am persuaded at least—I may almost say, I know—that many a clergyman has returned from a church congress to his parish (and it is in her parochial ministrations that the grand business of the Church lies) with a better heart for his work, and with more ability to do it, with his judgement enlightened and his views enlarged. I am not less persuaded that many a layman has been stirred up by such a gathering as this to more earnest zeal, more strenuous exertions, and more open-handed liberality for the support of his venerated Mother.

I have adverted to the spirit in which the proceedings at a church congress should be carried on: that it should be a kindly, large-hearted, and not a party spirit, I need not remind you. It was the want of such a spirit which so lamentably disfigured many of the ancient Church Councils. I have no fear that it will be wanting here; and I doubt not that it will appear in the courteous attention that will be paid to any communication, whether read or spoken, which may be addressed to us, even if positions shall be ad-

vanced to which the experience of a majority of the hearers may be opposed. I trust that in such a case, if disapproval be manifested, otherwise than by open speech afterwards, the expression of it will be such as becomes the character and position of those present, and the occasion which has brought them together.

I will not detain you longer from the business of the day. I have no need. I have been putting you in remembrance of known and acknowledged truths: I have done no more. During the whole course of my life I have had numberless causes to be thankful for the goodness and mercy which have followed me through it; and not the least is the happiness which I have in meeting so many of my fellow-Christians and my fellow churchmen in this assembly. I ask you to join with me in prayer to God, both collectively and individually, for a blessing on this congress, so that it may be made instrumental to the strength and peace of the Church, and especially to the growth in our hearts and lives of that chief of Christian graces, brotherly love. It is through that alone that we can hope for an increase of unity amongst us. The school of faith is a high school, but the school of love is higher. Many here have no need to learn in the one, but we have all need to be continual learners in the other. The more proficiency we make in it the more shall we approach the example of our Master, the truer members shall we be of the

Church of Christ upon earth, and the better prepared shall we be to become members of his Church in heaven.

The chief characteristic of his presidency seems to have been the wonderful power which he displayed of appeasing by a kind of magic the discordant elements which exist in all such meetings. No one seemed to know how it was done. Mere warnings and exhortations beforehand we know are not sufficient; though we see that he did not omit those. Sometimes the mere lifting of his hand, or a single word was enough. There was said to be a sensible difference both in the words and actions of the same speakers—and those, not inconsiderable persons—in his presence and his absence. For he was absent, for the reason which I gave at page 144, from two out of the twelve meetings; and he had no sooner gone than the tempest arose. A speech was made by a young nobleman which appears to have been meant to raise a storm; and it naturally succeeded: the clergy of England were not likely to sit still and patiently hear themselves accused of priestcraft; nor to be amended by it.

No one professes to know how the bishop would have quelled the storm; no one does know how it is that,

—— pietate gravem ac meritis si fortè virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant:
Iste regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.
Æn. I. 151.

But so it is; and every one (so far as I heard) was convinced that neither the disturbance nor the cause of it would have happened if the President had still been there. The report of the proceedings in the Guardian said, 'there was but one heart and one voice in response to the vote of thanks proposed to the Bishop. His chairmanship, without any appearance of interference, was effective throughout, as it was quiet and judicious.'

In taking leave of the congress he said, 'At the 'beginning of this day's meeting' (when church ceremonial was discussed) 'some disorder was anti-'cipated and I was asked to deprecate it; but I 'said, 'Why should I? There has been no dis-'' order yet, nor do I believe there will be any;' 'and you see what the result is.' In that same speech he referred with satisfaction to some other meeting of bishops and clergy 'where the diocese of Lichfield had been held up as an example of cordial cooperation between the clergy and the laity.'

After the congress was over, some of the members of it raised a subscription to present him with

a Pastoral Staff or Crozier, such as the bishop of Capetown and two or three others have accepted. As they never inquired, directly or indirectly, whether he would like it, and must have known that it would raise discussion, they have no right to complain of the remark that they rather aimed at gratifying themselves than him, and calculated on putting him in the difficult position of appearing either ungraciously to refuse their offering, or else to favour opinions which they knew that he disliked, by accepting it. If they really supposed that he would be pleased by such a gift, or would ever let it appear with him in public—even in a photograph—they were strangely ignorant of his taste. One who knew him very well said, not unwisely, 'he would much rather be presented with an umbrella.'

But even in a matter so insignificant in itself as this he steered with his usual wisdom and impartiality between the two parties whose differences were his greatest and his last trouble. A clergyman in Derbyshire, wrote him a letter, and published it, with the Bishop's answer, after his death. Mr. Gell, or at any rate his friends, will hardly think I am doing him injustice by not printing it again, especially as the point of it is sufficiently apparent from the answer, which was this:

'Eccleshall, 16 Oct. 1867.

'MY DEAR MR. GELL,—I thank you for the kind and frank letter which I have found from you here this evening, on my return from diocesan work in Shropshire.

'I beg to assure you that the contemplated present of which you speak so strongly has never had any expression of approval or consent from me.

'Though I cannot agree with you in thinking that if I were to accept the gift it would be 'a marked and significant emblem of the domination of High Churchism in my mind;' and though I do not dread the contemptuous pity which in that case would, in your opinion, be attached to my name, I am very sensible of your kindness in writing to me as you have done, and giving me the advice which you have given me as to the course I ought to take in the matter.

'I am &c.

'J. LICHFIELD.'

This is the nearest approach to irony that I ever read or heard from him. Indeed I do not think that it was meant for irony, though the circumstances would almost forbid any other interpretation of such a letter from any other hand. We may however remark on this, as in the matter of the Theological College (p. 63), that he would

give no encouragement to the opponents, or even purchase their approval, at the expense of the promoters of the scheme; and this although we (I mean his family) knew that he had made up his mind to stop it, as tending to 'cause divisions' and a thing totally useless in itself. Already one of his archdeacons (Hill) had withdrawn his name from the subscription for the same reason. There was a memorandum on the bishop's table when he died consisting of these two words written on a scrap of paper, 'Iles, Crozier.' Probably the next letter that he meant to write was to desire the rector of Wolverhampton to inform the subscribers of his wish that the matter should proceed no farther, though he would doubtless have thanked them for their intentions.

He had not recovered as usual from the fatigue of his confirmations in the summer, and was ill after them, though not seriously. But he took a short holiday, except from the never ceasing letters, at Scarborough, and seemed afterwards as well as usual. I thought him less deaf (which he was slightly) than the year before. He was rather weaker in the legs, and less inclined to walk, and sooner tired, and had been at last persuaded not to write letters after dinner. Still he

seemed so well, and was in such good spirits, that when the vicar of Eccleshall was regretting that the church could not be finished by the 24th anniversary of his consecration (Dec. 3) as had been intended, I answered, 'he seems so strong 'again that Easter will probably do just as well.' And so indeed it would.

Four days before his death, just before I took leave of him for the last time, we had some conversation about the papers on 'The Bible and Science' which had been read at the Congress. His last words on such a subject will at least be interesting, if they are not something more. Though he did not profess to understand science, no man knew better than he did the difference between sound and unsound reasoning; and we may remember what he said in one of his letters to Mr. Harvey about the inexpediency of publishing unsound defences of the Bible; and also his own views of its inspiration. But I must first explain how it happens that I am obliged to give my own words in this matter more than his. We had previously talked a little about the papers on that subject read at the Congress (of which I had been asked to write one, but did not), and I had written some remarks upon it which he desired to read, and did read. So the conver-

sation was really upon them. He agreed with them, and wished me to take some opportunity of printing them. I little thought what the opportunity would be. The paper contained more than this, but the rest of it involves too much explanation to be introduced here.

To begin then with the principal question discussed in the papers I have mentioned, the Scriptural account of the Creation. He agreed that it is not a sufficient defence of the Mosaic cosmogony, *if it is wrong*, to say that 'the Bible 'was not intended to teach science;' though that is a sufficient account to give of the expressions which speak of the motion of the sun and the steadiness of the earth, in the only language which could be understood then, and which is commonly used even now by astronomers.* For Moses does profess to give an account of the creation, which, from the nature of the case, must also profess to have been revealed either to him or to some one before him. And even the second of those alternatives cannot be used as a defence of the inspiration of the book of Genesis as it stands, if that book is wrong; but only as a personal

* Dr. McCaul has explained that the translation, 'the earth shall never *move* at any time' ought to be 'the earth shall never *shake* or *totter*;' and the steadiness and uniformity of the earth's motion is an important astronomical fact. (Aids to Faith, p. 219.)

excuse for Moses if he delivered a tradition which had become corrupted.

The logical result, as the Bishop agreed, must be faced. Either the first chapter of Genesis will some day turn out to be true, according to some fair interpretation of its language; when science has told us all it can, not according to merely bold conjectures, or strong probabilities,* but with the same certainty that it has told us the laws of motion of the planets; or else the idea of its inspiration must be abandoned.

This is the point where the divergence really begins between believers and unbelievers. The moment we arrive at an unsolved contradiction between the present state of scientific knowledge and the apparent meaning of Scripture, the unbeliever pronounces the cause decided against inspiration. The believer is content to wait, if need be, till the time when all the secrets of the uni-

* From the time of Sir W. Herschel to Lord Rosse it was believed that some of the apparent nebulæ are really nebulous, because no telescope would resolve them; though others were resolvable into 'star-dust,' or heaps of stars far beyond the visible ones. When Lord Rosse's great telescope resolved a nebula which had defied all smaller ones, it was concluded that only want of telescopic power prevented all the rest from being resolved. But now again it is considered to be proved, by the great invention of spectrum analysis, that some nebulæ are nebulous, and only inclose some stars, and are within the average distance of the stars.

verse are laid open, as we cannot doubt they will be, to those for whom all good things are prepared. For he knows that some things, which for a long time appeared to be contradictions, and even absurdities, have already turned out to be agreements between revelation and science, either by the advance of science or of other learning. Some striking instances of this are given in Dr. McCaul's essay on the Creation in 'Aids to Faith;' and who can say that they are all exhausted and that no others will be found?

To mention only one, which for a long time appeared the plainest contradiction. From the time of Moses until the other day, as we may say, the creation of the sun three 'days'—or (as most Hebrew scholars now agree) three unknown periods—after the production of light, and of the earth itself, must have appeared a contradiction to our senses. And ever since the time of Copernicus and Galileo, when the enormous size and importance of the sun as the controller of the solar system began to be appreciated, the idea of it being younger than the earth must have seemed not only a contradiction but an absurdity. But first we may remark that it is just that kind of transparent difficulty or contradiction which a mere inventor of a cosmogony would

have been sure to avoid: from which we may certainly conclude that Moses had some reason far below the surface for writing what he did. And according to the latest astronomical theory of the origin of the solar system, invented, and proved to be at least possible, by two French astronomers, the sun *is* younger than the earth; while light and heat may be millions of years older, emanating from that much larger nebulous mass which once included the earth and at last contracted into the sun, as light now comes from other nebulæ.*

It appears also from geology that there was a time when the heat of the earth, and vegetation, were independent of climate, or older than the sun, as Moses says. And geologists apparently agree that plants, fishes, birds, beasts, and men did come upon the earth in the Mosaic order. Moses certainly did not learn their order from geology: nor only from tradition; for the earliest man could know no more of it than he did without the help of revelation.

It must not however be inferred that the bishop gave any countenance to those, who, imitating the Inquisition which condemned Galileo, insist that science is to yield to their dogmatic inter-

* See Astronomy without Mathematics, p. 245 of 4th edition.

pretations of or inferences from the Bible. This is not less—or more—presumptuous than the assumption of certain scientific infidels that they are specially qualified to decide on the credibility of miracles, as if they alone had ascertained that the course of nature is immutable by any power short of that which ordered it. Of course an atheist cannot believe in miracles, because he knows of no such power; and a denier of revelation cannot, because he knows of no sufficient motive for a miracle. But these must appear to all but those who possess them strange qualifications for a superiority of judgment on the credibility of miracles.

I am far from supposing that the opinions of this or any other bishop will carry any weight with those who are resolved to believe nothing that cannot be proved, or who have acquired such a habit of dwelling on the difficulties of revelation that they can see little else in it. But sceptics are mistaken if they imagine that they alone are conscious of the existence of difficulties in the Bible, as well as in the moral government of the world. It may suit partial unbelievers to say that they have nothing to do with the alternative that the Bible must be either substantially true or substantially false, substantially inspired

or absolutely uninspired. Wiser men reflect that they have everything to do with that alternative. Newton and Faraday saw the boundary between science and revelation chiefly from one side, and John Lonsdale and Joseph Butler from the other. Such men as these have been convinced that the difficulties of believing the Scriptures to be false are immeasurably greater than of believing them to be true. And they have been content to wait till the time appointed for the solution of the question why difficulties exist, and of greater problems still. Our Bishop had not then to wait long.

On Monday the 14th of October he presided and spoke at an S. P. G. meeting at Eccleshall, and had a party of the clergy and their families to luncheon, the last company he had. The next day, immediately after the conversation I have mentioned, he went to Wellington in Shropshire, and returned on the 16th after preaching there. Though his sermon was at the opening of an organ, his text was, 'Whether we live we live unto the Lord, or whether we die we die unto the Lord.' It was the anniversary of his wife's death; and his own was so near that the text could not fail to be noticed afterwards as singularly appropriate. On the 17th he started again, to a place called Upper Tean near Ut-

toxeter, and there he preached his last sermon on the 18th, slightly altered from one which he had written the year before for a choral meeting at the Cathedral. It is therefore printed here. The last words he uttered in the pulpit are strikingly expressive of the doctrine which he preached by his words and his actions from the beginning to the end of his life.

On Saturday the 19th of October he left Tean after an early breakfast, and came to Stafford to attend a meeting which had been called to promote the establishment of a middle class school at Denstone in Staffordshire, in connexion with the College of St. Nicolas at Lancing in Sussex, which had contributed 2500*l.* towards its foundation. He found the walls of Stafford placarded with handbills denouncing the proposed schools as a device of the Romanizing party in the Church to obtain the religious training of the youth of the middle classes, as the Theological College at Lichfield had been denounced in the same way 14 years before. Some of the bills were even thrown into his carriage.

This was the sure way to make him defend the scheme more zealously, as he had defended the College against the same kind of opposition, even while he wished for the sake of peace that it had

never been set up. For, much as he abhorred strife, his impulse always was to defend any one who he thought was attacked unfairly, and not to throw him over as a convenient mode of escaping from a difficulty and gaining popularity. Those who were at the meeting say they never saw him speak with such energy and warmth before, and the newspapers in effect said the same. His love of justice was offended, and his meek spirit moved to indignation by an opposition carried on as that was, to a scheme which he at any rate believed to be a bonâ fide attempt to meet a want long recognised, and which had given rise to a Royal Commission of inquiry. He was the more indignant because—and this is not so well known as it should be—he had already given the support both of his name and money to an institution for the same object at Trent in Derbyshire, which the 'low church' party favoured.

He was certainly not so blind or ignorant of men as to need reminding that the chief promoters of the Denstone school and the trustees of the property were 'high-churchmen,' with opinions in that direction far beyond his own. But he thought, after making inquiries, that the principles on which the school was to be estab-

lished and worked were 'within the fair limits of the Church of England;' and he supported it on his invariable principle of supporting everything calculated to do good, within those limits.

He had previously written his opinion that the 'school should have a government of its own, in 'the formation of which the leading persons of 'that part of the country for the benefit of which 'it is designed should have a voice. I can hardly 'suppose (he said) that if these schools are spread 'over England, they are all to be under the 'direction of the provost and fellows of a college 'in Sussex. I hope that each school may have 'its governing body, beyond which no interference with the school will be allowed.'

The Rev. N. Woodard, the founder and 'Provost of S. Nicolas College,' says in a published letter to Sir Perceval Heywood, that the bishop had been satisfied by him on these points at an interview in London. Unfortunately there has been no publication yet of the statutes or rules by which the school is to be governed, beyond the announcement that the bishop is to be Visitor. But he was far too good a lawyer to be ignorant that a Visitor has practically no control over the working of a school so long as it is kept within the limits of the statutes; and

no statutes can define the daily working of such an institution. However he gave the promoters credit, as he said, for intending to do right; and this was only a preliminary meeting. After the chairman had opened the proceedings, the bishop spoke as follows:—

It is not my purpose to address you at any length, because I believe the great majority of persons who are here to-day, at any rate a great many, are come to obtain information, and any merely general remarks would only be a waste of time. There are several present able to give that information, especially my friend Dr. Lowe [headmaster of the school at Hurstpierpoint in connexion with the College at Lancing] who is thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and will be able from his own experience, besides making a statement, to answer any questions which may be put on the subject.

I am here to-day on account of my office. It is generally admitted that while the education of the upper classes of this country has long been, and still is, with scarcely an exception, in the hands of the Church, and whilst the Church has also a very large share—larger than any other denomination—in the education of the poor, it is admitted on all hands that the Church, which has a mission to all classes for purposes of good, has not carried that mission into effect

in the case of the important class of society which is called, somewhat indefinitely, but with sufficient distinctness, 'the middle class.'

Where it is able to fulfil it, I believe the Church owes a duty for good to every class of the community; and I know of no way in which she can discharge that duty better than by giving to all classes, as far as she can, a sound, religious, and useful education. It is on that account that I am here to-day. Here is a school proposed to be established on Church principles, and are we not bound to believe the persons who say they are honest and bonâ fide members of the Church? Are we not bound to take them at their word? And if anything can be said against their principles, let people come forward in a manly way and not put forth such a paper as this (holding up the placard). There is a paragraph in it which I have read with pain, and I cannot think that the clergyman alluded to is responsible for it, a statement that 'the evangelical clergyman in whose parish Sir 'Percival Heywood has built a church, says, 'These ''schools are designed to play into the hands of ''Rome, and that the unprotestantizing of the middle ''classes is their grand object and aim.'' How can there be a graver charge than that? I hope that anybody who is prepared to bring such a charge will prove it.

Am I, after being here four and twenty years, to

be suspected of joining Popery, or of promoting a scheme of middle class education for the purpose of playing into the hands of Rome? I am sure I need not say that I should not have anything to do with the movement, if I suspected for a moment that any such object is openly or covertly intended. But I am assured by the supporters of this school that they are bonâ fide members of the Church of England. There is in this diocese another school [the one already spoken of at Trent] now in progress with the same object as that proposed to be erected at Denstone; and if the promoters of that scheme, many of whom are personally known to me, come to me and say we wish to carry on a school for the education of the middle classes as church people, and upon church principles, am I not to take them at their word?

And am I not equally bound to do so in this case? I cannot understand, and I never could understand, how honest people, and honest church people, can differ as to the essential and vital principles of the Church. That I do not understand, but I can quite understand that people may entertain those principles honestly and truly, and may yet carry them out in a somewhat different manner. That must always be so; for we cannot expect in an age and country like this, that all work of the Church will be done in the same way by people of different minds and different education, or that all church societies will be con-

ducted by men who look at things from the same point of view. But that is no reason why we should not work together as friends while we carry out our own views. I am always supposing that they are conducted upon really Church principles; and why then should not God's blessing rest upon both? Instead of moving each other to envy and suspicion we should excite a kind of honest and godly rivalry. That state of things must exist, and we are bound to do all we can to turn it to the best account.

With regard to this particular school that we are about to establish, I believe that Church principles will be honestly and fairly carried out in it, and that nothing will be done in it contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Church of England and her formularies; that they will be strictly adhered to. And as to its being a Romanizing school, let people who say so prove it. If I thought it was so I would withdraw from it to-morrow. I quite agree with the views of the noble Chairman; those views are mine. We are met here to consider a great want, which it is the duty of the Church to supply; and if anything could encourage us in such a work it is the single-minded and large-hearted liberality of my friend Sir Percival Heywood, who has come forward so nobly to secure the establishment of these schools in his own neighbourhood. I did not intend to go into the question at such length, but seeing this kind of anonymous

paper put forth without a shadow of proof, I could not abstain from saying what I have done. Dr. Lowe will make a fuller statement to you as to the design and working, and I am thankful to say, the signal success of these schools.

Mr. Beresford Hope next spoke at considerable length, and gave the names of the trustees as a security that nothing of a Romanising tendency could be reasonably feared; viz. Sir Percival Heywood, the donor of the land and 1500*l.* for the proposed school, Mr. Hubbard, the founder of St. Alban's church in London, Mr. Tritton and Mr. Hope himself, the principal founders of All Saints' church in Margaret Street, and Lord Cranbourne, Mr. Hope's brother in law.

Then Dr. Lowe spoke, and caused considerable excitement by saying, 'The boys in the school at Hurstmoncieux are allowed, but by the permission of their parents only, to come to confession, and to receive absolution, if they are unable (as the Prayerbook says) by the usual means to satisfy their own conscience, and require further comfort or advice. . . . We have no system of confession, under which your child can be encouraged to press into it: he must abide by the simple rule of the Church; and under no circumstances, except that of the child being unable

to go to Communion with a quiet conscience, can his confession be received.' And in answer to a question from some one in the meeting he said—'I do not encourage confession.'

Dr. Lowe further said, that so far from his own bishop, of Chichester, having withdrawn his support from the schools, as somebody had alleged, he gives no less than 100*l.* a-year to them; and no one will accuse the bishop of Chichester of extreme opinions. In consequence of the excitement on this subject of confession and absolution, the bishop of Lichfield thought it necessary to speak again; and in these his very last words in public we see once more his usual readiness to give all possible credit for honesty and truth to those he had to deal with, the same desire to put the real question before his hearers in the most explicit way, and the same ability to say the best that could honestly be said for the purpose:

'The feeling manifested in some parts of this meeting, when the subject of confession was mentioned, makes me desirous, with the permission of your noble chairman, to say a few words. I wish this subject to be thoroughly understood. Now, if the confession, which is allowed occasionally at Hurstpierpoint, approached at all to what is called 'auricular confession,'

that is, the confession of the Church of Rome, that would at once, in my mind, be a fatal objection to my having anything to do with the place. The Church of Rome requires confession. We are met here to support a Church of England institution. The Church of England does not require confession. The Church of England, I should say, does not *encourage* confession; but the Church of England, under certain circumstances, permits it. Now I wish to be thoroughly understood. I am speaking to members of the Church, those who are acquainted with its formularies. The Church of England says, when persons are preparing to go to the Holy Communion, if they cannot satisfy their own minds after anxious self-examination and prayer, 'Let them go to one of its appointed 'ministers and open their minds to him.' This is only under the circumstance of preparation for the Holy Communion.

'Now this is just what is done at Lancing, and what I suppose will be done at Denstone, only under those particular circumstances, when the relief is wanted for an uneasy conscience. The Church of England supplies it under those particular circumstances, but only as a preparation for the Holy Communion. Nothing will be done here but what the Church of England, as anybody will see by looking in his prayer book, sanctions in her formularies. It seems to me that you can hardly do less. Observe:

when Dr. Lowe was asked distinctly, 'Do you encourage confession,' he gave a distinct answer, like a plain, honest man, 'No:' but you could not refuse to permit confession under those special circumstances.

'But look; they really have a special guard; they really do not, under those special circumstances, allow confession—which the Church of England expressly admits—except with the permission of the parents. I do not see myself, if that be right in any other class,—I do not see why young, intelligent, thoughtful, religious-minded lads of sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen, for I suppose they seldom go to the Communion before the age of sixteen, should not have, if they really want it, that comfort which the Church of England, whether rightly or wrongly (for that is not the question with us here) provides for its members. I wish this to be distinctly understood. I trust that we may hear no more expressions of alarm or suspicion about auricular confession. There is no such thing. Nothing will be done there but what the Church of England permits.'

The bishop knew full well (as I had occasion to remark before) the difference between reasons and excuses, and that the whole practical question was and is, whether the future master of the Denstone school will act bonâ fide on the principle

of Dr. Lowe, of 'not encouraging confession' directly or indirectly, or even allowing it without the consent of parents; and that it depends no less on the individual master of the school, whether the absolution spoken of by Dr. Lowe is 'to be merely (as the Prayer book says) 'the benefit of absolution by the ministry of God's holy Word together with ghostly counsel and advice,' or something of a very different kind. On these points he was willing to give credit to the authors of the scheme. I cannot pretend to deny that other persons might reasonably require some further guarantee. But I am not concerned with it further than having to record fairly what the Bishop wrote and said, and to take care that his support of it shall rest on the true grounds, and not be made to carry more weight than he intended it to bear. He supported it in the belief that 'the fair limits of the Church of England' would not be transgressed in one direction, as he had supported other things and other men in the belief that they did not transgress those limits in the opposite direction. For the present, according to all the documents that I have seen, the matter rests there, on the names of the trustees, and Mr. Woodard's promise that the government of the school is

to be in a local council, as the Bishop had required.

A story has got abroad that he was left longer without food than usual on that day. Oddly enough the contrary happens to be the fact; for on account of his early breakfast he had something to eat before the meeting, and luncheon after it later than his usual time. He appeared to some persons flushed and heated then; but he talked cheerfully as usual, both at the luncheon and coming home with his daughter in the carriage till he fell asleep, as his habit was.

His married daughters happened both to be at Eccleshall, but neither of their husbands, nor his sons. They also saw him when he came in and he talked a little to them and seemed quite well, but very tired. Then he went to his study, put off dinner till 8 o'clock, a little after post time, and wrote the twenty letters of which I spoke before. He came to dinner looking very pale, and said 'Those letters are too much for me;' and in answer to a question from his daughters he said he 'felt strange but not faint.' He had told one of the servants just before dinner that he felt ill: but that was not known till afterwards. He drank some wine, and

began to eat his dinner, but asked one of his daughters to carve for him, which was quite unusual; and said, 'What a comfort it is to have you all here.' Presently, without saying anything, he laid his head upon his hand, and then fell back, breathed heavily for a few minutes, and was dead.

The doctors agreed that the cause was the rupture of a bloodvessel in the brain, brought on by the work of writing all those letters, after the excitement and exertion of the morning. Probably the mischief was done by that exertion. For local reasons his funeral took place on the fifth day after his death, sooner than was generally expected. The clergy who knew of it came from all parts of the diocese, to the number of nearly 200, filling, with the parishioners, all the available space within the unfinished walls of the parish church of Eccleshall, in which his voice had been expected to be heard again at the opening service within a few months.

His three archdeacons were there, and the venerable chancellor of the diocese, and his old friend Archdeacon Hale, only one of the five being much younger than himself; and others were only prevented from coming from long distances by the shortness of the time. No

application was made for relaxation of the law which now wisely prohibits burials within the walls of churches without express leave from the Secretary of State. His family knew how indifferent he was about such things, and above all, that he would never have allowed any dispensation to be asked for him. So he was buried in the churchyard by the little gate near the gardens of the castle, through which he used to walk to church.

The poor are not rich in their vocabulary. The saying that we heard most from them was the expressive one, 'What a pity he is dead.' 'He was such a comfortable man,' was another; and those who could remember five bishops said, 'We never had such people here before, and we never shall again.' For one or two Sundays after his funeral nearly all the people were in mourning, as for a royal death; and so they were at Lichfield. One who knows as much as anybody of the bishops and clergy of England, said to me in Yorkshire, when the news of his death came, 'He is the only bishop for whom any real tears will be shed.' Such sayings are of course not to be taken literally; but though the deaths of a few distinguished men have been greater public calamities, I remember no such general

demonstrations of personal grief for the death of any man; and the fact that he had so little of a public character makes this the more striking.

Even the newspapers in which no one expected more than the bare fact, that 'the Bishop of Lichfield died suddenly on Saturday,' contributed their testimony to his wise, fatherly, and impartial rule. Many of the paragraphs were doubtless the effusions of private affection; but they prove how widely that affection was spread; and they would not have been printed if the editors had not known that they represented the feeling of the public. Those in the Times and the Guardian were copied into so many other papers that it is superfluous to reprint them here. The phrase by which he was commonly designated in public had gradually changed from 'our revered diocesan' to 'the good bishop;' where, as usual, the simple words meant much more than the grand ones. The long delay and unusual difficulty in finding a successor were another tribute to his memory. His great shadow hangs over the place, and it might well be feared that the light of smaller men would be eclipsed by it.

On the 9th of December 1867 a diocesan meeting was held at Lichfield, convened by the Lords

Lieutenants of the three counties, to consider what public memorial of him should be erected. The chairman said that the result of their long previous deliberations was that no one scheme could be propounded with a prospect of general assent, except a monument in the cathedral: that no less than ten schemes had been proposed and considered; but that the conveners of the meeting had resolved to leave each archdeaconry or district to adopt such local memorials as they pleased.

I do not know what the other nine proposals were; nor is it now material to inquire. The promoters of the Denstone school naturally availed themselves of the connection of that scheme with his death, to raise subscriptions for a 'Lonsdale wing' to be erected as part of the building. Besides that, separate subscriptions are being raised for a memorial church in Derby; for the rebuilding of the nave of St. Mary's Lichfield, a church doubly connected with bishop Lonsdale's memory by family ties, and partly rebuilt as a monument to his brother already (see p. 22); and above all, for the completion of that which was specially his own church of Eccleshall, and which now possesses the additional claim of being in fact, by force of events which cannot be altered, his monumental church,

overshadowing his grave, and bearing his epitaph (see pp. 126 and 250).

Respecting the cathedral monument I repeat here what has been already published—not speaking now as the Bishop's son in law, but as a church-builder of a good many years' experience—that it is to be hoped that with such models before our eyes as the tombs of archbishop Walter Gray at York and bishops Cantilupe and D'Aquablanca at Hereford, the Percy shrine in Beverley Minster, and many others, bishop Lonsdale will be allowed to repose in Lichfield cathedral in the attitude of the bishops and kings of the age of the cathedrals, and not be set up in the impossible and ostentatious posture to which one of his recent predecessors has been undeservedly condemned; and that we shall be spared the infliction of one more gorgeous and inharmonious fabric in the 'eclectic style' of this age: all original styles of architecture being probably exhausted. Perhaps the architects will try for once, if only for variety, to imitate a little of the simplicity of the old monuments, no less than of the character of the man whom this is to commemorate; not that any man's estimation with posterity depends upon his effigy; but a great cathedral monument is a matter of general concern.

If I have at all succeeded in telling the story of his life it is needless to add any description or review of his character; and if I have not, I should certainly fail equally in attempting any such description now. Those whose good fortune it was to know him well will want no help of mine to keep alive their recollection of such a man as they will never see again. Those who knew him not must be content with what has now passed into the region of tradition. The impression of his character will long survive the facts which produced it.

I am however able to present two pictures of him by other hands: one, his archdeacon of Salop, whom he brought from King's College London, and who was his chief examining chaplain during all his 24 years: the other, the head master for nearly 30 years of the school first made famous (in modern times at least) by his own predecessor bishop Butler. His successor has most truly said of him in public that he 'left an example as near perfection as was possible for any human being.'

But there is yet one thing more to notice. We know the saying of the wisest pagan, that no man can be pronounced happy till his death. Bishop Lonsdale may now be pronounced singularly

happy both in his life and in his death. His early success at school and college: his steady advancement for a long time under two archbishops and two of the wisest statesmen of his time (Peel and Lyndhurst): health which never failed so far as to stop his work: means always beyond the wants of his simple mode of life: the love of many friends, both old and new; and the affection and respect which he won everywhere, among people of all ranks, ages, and opinions: a family who were all that he could desire; and his children's children rising up full of promise: even his one domestic sorrow, the loss of his wife, made up to him as far as possible by the well known assiduity, ability, and discretion of the daughter who was left with him:—all these, with his wonderful cheerfulness and freshness of spirit, and enjoyment of all that was good in every thing and every man, make up a sum of blessings such as is allotted to very few. So we have seen him speaking more than once of 'the goodness and mercy which had followed him all the days of his life.'

And at last, while he was rejoicing in the presence of his three daughters, he was (as it were) translated, without tasting any pains of death; not in the labour and sorrow of fourscore

years, but with his eye scarcely dim or his natural force abated; for he had that very day lifted up his voice in public, with a force unheard from him before, in defence of the cause of education and the Church against an opposition which he thought prejudiced and unfair.

The same end, or one much worse, of disability from gradual decay, or from paralysis, would probably have come before long if this had not. If it was hastened by the exertions of that last day, as it doubtless was, then indeed it may be added that he poured out his life in his work, mindful to the last of the words, which for their beauty might be those of a heathen poet, but were the words of a Christian poet; for they were his own (p. 326); and we may well suppose them spoken by the Master whom he followed, from his youth when he wrote them, to his old age and the moment when he realised them:—

I, studiis incumbe bonis; sic, Me'duce, vises
Æthera, sic victâ morte superstes eris.

DR. KENNEDY'S RECOLLECTIONS.

The College, Ely, 26 Dec. 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DENISON,—Most of the letters which I have received during twenty four years from my kind and dear friend and diocesan, the late Bishop of Lichfield, are out of my reach at this time. But if I had them now for reference, they would only add one illustration more to a subject on which, for once, there exists little or no difference of opinion. All the good and wise, who knew Bishop Lonsdale by report alone, revered his character. All who knew him by personal intimacy revered and loved him. And those who knew him best revered and loved him most.

To speak of him first as a scholar:—where could we look for a more accomplished and well-stored mind, a more elegant taste, a nicer and happier judgment, more graceful refinement of thought and expression? Who could be cited as a more complete example of the humanizing influences of a classical education?

[I omit a few facts already stated.]

As a working bishop, his character and conduct need no commendation of mine. They were the subject of general praise and wonder. So much work done, so punctually and so well, at so advanced an

age. And here let me say, my dear Sir, that you and the rest of the Bishop's family must surely feel, as Tacitus felt of his father-in-law Agricola, that he was 'felix opportunitate mortis.' At the age of eighty, every year added to his life would have made him less able to do well the work he had long done so very well; less able to do it with comfort and satisfaction to himself, and with advantage to his large and difficult diocese. Therefore the sudden and painless death of one always prepared to die, in the midst of good work in his master's cause, after a day of work, in which he had shown his usual self-denial in the performance of duty, seems to have been a happy event for himself and his family, a happy event for the Church, the noble and exemplary death of a Christian Confessor.

I am not entitled to speak with any authority of the opinions entertained by Bishop Lonsdale on doctrinal and ritual questions at issue within our Church. But now and then I have had occasion to correspond or to converse with him on controverted topics. Nor have I been at any time unobservant of his line of action and his language when debate arose respecting things spiritual and ecclesiastical. And the general impression left upon my mind is this: that he was a High Churchman of the old school, broadened by experience, and inclining always to moderation and comprehension.

As a friend and social companion we all know that he was the kindest of the kind, the most genial of genial men. His manner was a happy and most enviable gift of nature, improved by education, and perfected by society. His frank cheeriness and easy address made every one at home with him: his sprightly wit, fed from the stores of a copious and prompt memory, enlivened conversation: while dignity was always safe under the guardianship of his exquisite taste, sound sense, and strong Christian principles.

His large benevolence and sympathy were ever on the watch for active employment. In my own family a visit from him, were it only for an hour at luncheon, was an event eagerly welcomed by every inmate. Nor can any of us ever look back without grateful affection to his unsolicited and generous kindness in coming to London two years ago, in the most ungenial weather, to perform the marriage service of my youngest daughter.

When we and all who knew and loved him are gone (may it be) whither he is gone, his memory will still be cherished as the exemplar of a great Christian Bishop. After the first emotions of sorrow for such a loss were over, on whom, I thought, can that mantle worthily devolve? The first name which occurred to me was that of his present successor. The second was that of one in whom those who know him find

only one great fault, an excessive modesty which does injustice to his own signal merits. Well will it be for some other of our English sees if he shall ever be persuaded, though against his own wish, to occupy it.

Believe me, dear Mr. Denison,

Yours very faithfully

B. H. KENNEDY.

ARCHDEACON ALLEN'S RECOLLECTIONS.

Prees, Shrewsbury, Nov. 9, 1867.

MY DEAR DENISON,—You have asked me to send to you my impressions of Bishop Lonsdale.

I began to work under him in the close of 1838, when, as supplying the absence of Mr. Hugh James Rose, he came to King's College London to do the work of the Principal.

I was first struck with his marvellous kindness. I felt that I had never known one who shewed so much sympathy, so much consideration for others. It seemed as if he could not say a harsh word to one, and that if it was necessary to give an admonition to recall one to greater exactitude in duty, this admonition was only given by his increased gentleness and kindness and affection.

No one could be more careful to abstain from

words of religious profession: no one has seemed to me more effectually by his silent conduct to preach continually the highest and most necessary duties, overcoming evil with good.

Working as an inferior under him I was greatly impressed by his never sparing his own toil, by his being always ready to take the labouring oar.

His excessive care however to do accurate justice, for a short time after he first came in the Principal's place at King's College, doubled my work in the looking over of papers. The theological teaching of the students was at that time left with the Principal and the Chaplain. There were a large number of written answers to questions to be looked over by the Principal every fortnight, the names of the students being arranged after each fortnightly examination according to the merit of their answers in eight or ten classes. The work was very laborious. When Mr. Lonsdale first came to King's College, having made his list of the classified names in these fortnightly examinations, he would have me to go through the same papers to try if his estimate agreed with mine. He found however, after two or three experiments, that there was no substantial difference between the results that each of us had attained separately, and he then ceased to require my services in that matter.

The preaching of the sermon on the Sunday after-

noon at King's College Chapel was my work. I was at that time twenty-seven years of age. He did me the great but unusual service of always noticing before I went home any failure in accuracy of statement, any awkwardness of expression, any defective arrangement in the sermon I had just been preaching. These friendly criticisms often provoked discussion, but they greatly drew my affection to him, I regarded him as a father, I treasured up all that came from him, I have, as I believe, at this time every scrap of his writing that he ever sent to me, with the exception of a single letter.

He was specially watchful in regard to theological teaching that the exact meaning of each passage of Scripture adduced should as far as possible be appreciated, that no more should be put into the words than they could fairly be understood to mean, that the connexion in which the texts were found should always be held in view.

His own sermons seemed to me to have simplicity, freshness, weight, from his diligent study of the Scriptures, joined to his strong practical sense. Very few remarks in his sermons were as I think suggested by any books except commentaries on the Scriptures. At every step his teaching was fortified by the most apposite quotations from Scripture. His sermons in their general character sometimes reminded me of Bishop Sanderson, a writer who affords me special

instruction and delight; but Bishop Sanderson was not with him a favourite writer.

Every year that I knew Bishop Lonsdale it seemed to me that his character grew in firmness. As larger and larger demands were made on his highest qualities, it seemed to me that those demands were always met with increased courage and wisdom and charity.

I have heard it said when he was at King's College, and when he sometimes seemed, as we thought, over careful to take counsel with others, 'Mr. Lonsdale has an excellent judgment if he will but rely on his own.' It sometimes was his practice, when he was specially anxious to come to a right judgment on a matter that arose for consideration, to veil his own opinion for a time, if that opinion agreed with your own, and to ply you with all the difficulties that occurred to him as possible to be urged from the opposite side of the question, so that the matter might be looked at in all lights, and the fallacy, if any, that was lurking in your reasoning might be brought into view. His mind seemed to me eminently judicial; the weaker side of a case was fully considered before his decision was come to.

If a pleasant thing was said of another in his absence, if a kind word was to be communicated that would be likely to render two men more heartily disposed to work together for good, Bishop Lonsdale

never lost the opportunity for setting forward charity for provoking others to love and to good works.

When he was first appointed Bishop, I sometimes thought, as examining chaplain, that his sympathy with the candidates for holy orders made him over scrupulous about rejecting the less competent. But in later years his judgment changed in this matter, and his caution to me then was, 'Be sure that you narrowly test their acquirements, and do not present any that seem to you unfit.'* It was one of his sayings, that if a clergyman were an angel from heaven, and did not pay his debts, his usefulness was at an end.

His care to answer every letter, and every sentence of a letter, sometimes exposed him, as I thought, to the inroads of correspondents, not over scrupulous about occupying his time, who would write to him without necessity, and enter upon matters of no pressing importance, that they might have the pleasure of reading to others the remarks elicited from him. When one knew that in the winter mornings he was up early, writing letters by candlelight, to clear off his daily score of work, one grudged every demand on his time that could in reason have been spared. Pamphlets came to him, that were laboriously read through as he travelled, and were not simply acknowledged but commented on to the writer.

When, in 1847, I was appointed Archdeacon, the

* It seldom happened that all the candidates were passed.

Bishop said to me, There are two matters to which I wish you to give special attention; first, that so far as you can, you will allow no clergyman to officiate in the archdeaconry without a licence; second, that you will do what is in your power to organise, and give effect to, ruridecanal chapters of the clergy. The Bishop did not regard with much favour clerical meetings where clergymen mainly of the same views meet each other; he thought that such meetings had a tendency to narrow men's sympathies, and to encourage party spirit. But he greatly desired the prevalence of ruridecanal chapters, where every licensed clergyman had a right to be present at the summons of the rural dean. These chapters, in the Bishop's judgment, helped to enlarge men's sympathies, and to provoke us to love and to good works.* He drew up rules for our guidance, which prescribed that previously to entering on the business of the meeting the members should unite in prayer at church; that church extension at home and abroad, and education, with a view to their effectual furtherance in the several parishes of the deanery, should take precedence of other topics of discussion; and that these topics should as much as possible be of a practical and parochial character, excluding such as tend to theological debate.*

* These meetings must not be confounded with Synods assuming a power of legislation or decision. He never recommended them.

†All his great powers were given to his work. He was happy in himself and it was a happiness to have anything to do with him. He drew others to co-operate heartily with him by his singular forgetfulness of self, his affectionate sympathy, his careful attention to the minutest claim of duty, his justice, toleration, charity. His memory of the circumstances of those with whom he had to deal was perhaps unrivalled. His munificence stirred up others. His strong practical sense joined to the simplicity and godly sincerity of his character, gave churchmen of all opinions confidence in his fatherly oversight. Probably there is no diocese less stirred by party feeling * and in which there is more zeal in setting forward good works.

At the recent congress at Wolverhampton he presided at the meetings in the morning, in the afternoon, and in the evening, and it seemed to many that the best and most necessary things were there said by the president in the happiest and most vigorous manner. Those who witnessed the scene when he took leave of the meeting on the 4th of October will not readily forget the enthusiasm with which his parting words were received.

He was singularly reticent as to his deepest feel-

† The next three paragraphs have appeared already in several newspapers.

* This may be true, as the Bishop also used to say, in the archdeaconry of Salop, but I am afraid there is sufficient proof in these pages that it is not so in the other two.

ings. I never recollect him speaking but once to me of the principles by which he was guided in the discharge of his episcopal office. It was many years ago under the beech trees at Eccleshall in reference to some complication that had arisen. I cannot give his words, but the impression left with me was to the following effect—That he who was charged with the work of the diocese, must take up every burden, and be the servant of all, and put his shoulder continually to the wheel: that he must, if he was Bishop, strive to remedy the error of the least experienced curate, and to remove stumbling blocks out of the way of the weakest person under his charge.

Burnet's words in reference to Leighton (History of my own times, i. 138 fol.) have often come into my thoughts since I have lost Bishop Lonsdale. Burnet says of Leighton, 'I bear the greatest veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any person; and I reckon my early knowledge of him, and my long and intimate conversation with him, which continued to his death, among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know that I must give an account to God in the great day in a most particular manner.'

Yours sincerely,

JOHN ALLEN.

IN PIAM MEMORIAM
REVERENDI ADMODUM IN CHRISTO PATRIS
DNI D. JOANNIS LONSDALE
PER XXIV FERE ANNOS
EPISCOPI LICHFELDENSIS
HANCCE ÆDEM SACROSANCTAM
SS. TRINITATI DEDICATAM
CUJUS EODEM SUPERSTITE PERFICIENDÆ
SPEM EHEU FALLACEM CONCEPERAT
GRAVISSIMO MORTUUM DESIDERIO PROSECUTA
DIŒCESIS
JUVANTIBUS AMICIS QUIBUSDAM
RESTAURANDAM CURAVIT.

ERAT IN EO INGENIUM PERSPICAX ET SOLIDUM
LITERARUM SENSUS EXQUISITIOR
MODERATIONE ÆQUABILI TEMPERATUM JUDICIUM
MIRA CONSUETUDINIS JUCUNDITAS ET LEPOR SUAVISSIMUS
IDEM PATER DIŒCESEOS VERE DICENDUS
NEMO EUM CONVENIRE VOLUIT CUI FUERIT OCCUPATUS
EPISTOLARUM SCRIPTOR QUOTIDIE DILIGENTISSIMUS
VIR NULLI ADDICTUS MAGISTRI UNIUS CHRISTI STUDIOSUS
AUCTORITATE CONSILIO MUNIFICENTIA
SI QUID UBIQUE HONESTUM ULTRO ADJUTOR
VULTU IPSO ET HABITU
VIRTUTIS ET SANCTITATIS DULCISSIMUS COMMENDATOR
OMNIUM REVERENTIAM ATQUE AMOREM CONCILIAVIT
SUI IMMEMOR ALIIS CONSULENS
ULTRA SORTEM SENECTÆ
USQUE AD NOVISSIMAM ÆTATIS HORAM
LABORIBUS ASSIDUUS
HAC VITA LENITER SOPITUS
VITAM CÆLESTEM MUTAVIT
NATUS XVIIMO DIE JANUARII A. S. MDCCLXXXVIII
OBIIT XIXNO DIE OCTOBRIS A. S. MDCCCLXVII.

JOANNI LONSDALE
S. T. P.
REVERENDO ADMODUM IN CHRISTO PATRI
EPISCOPO LICHFELDENSI
HUJUSCE COLLEGII PER QUINQUENNIUM PRINCIPALI
M. P. C.
EJUSDEM COLLEGII CONCILIUM

VIR IN OMNI VITÆ PARTE ADMIRABILIS
MUSARUM AB ÆTATE TENERA DELICIÆ
ETONÆ ALUMNUS MOX DECUS ET LUMEN
CANTABRIGIÆ EGREGIA HUMANITATIS LAUDE CUMULATUS
DEIN VARIIS ECCLESIÆ HONORIBUS PERFUNCTUS
MITI SAPIENTIA ÆQUUS
COMITATE SUAVISSIMA NULLI NON AFFABILIS
DOMUM OMNIBUS PRÆBENS PERHOSPITALEM
UT ORATOR SUAVITATEM HABENS SOLIDAM
AUCTORITATE GRAVIS MUNIFICENTIA LARGUS
ITA COLLEGIO PRÆFUIT
UT BENEVOLENTIA SINGULARI
DEVINCTOS SIBI TENERET
PROFESSORES MAGISTROS DISCIPULOS IPSOS FAMULOS
MOX AD ALTIOREM IN ECCLESIA GRADUM
A VIRO PRUDENTISSIMO EVECTUS
DESIDERIUM COLLEGIO RELIQUIT GRAVISSIMUM
SPEM AUTEM OMNIBUS EREXIT
EVENTU MINOREM
EADEM IMMO SANCTIORE
FIDE PRUDENTIA RELIGIONE INDUSTRIA
QUAM PRINCIPALIS PRÆSTITERAT
EPISCOPUS INSIGNIS
INTER TOT CURAS
COLLEGII NUNQUAM VETERUMQUE AMORUM OBLITUS
PER XXIV FERE ANNOS
DIŒCESEOS PATER AMANS ET AMATUS
TANDEM ANNIS SENEX INGENIO INTEGER
E MEDIIS LABORIBUS
IN QUIETEM SEMPITERNAM
LENI MORTE MIGRAVIT
NATUS XVIIMO DIE JANUARII A. S. MDCCLXXXVIII
EPISCOP. TERTIO DIE DECEMBRIS A. S. MDCCCXLIII
OBIIT XIXNO DIE OCTOBRIS A. S. MDCCCLXVII.

The following verses by the Bishop's other son-in-law, the Rev. W. Bryans, and by the Rev. J. Gregory Smith, are thought worthy of being preserved here, though they have been published already :—

IN MEMORIAM.

Nothing is here for tears, or dull complaint;
His warfare o'er, his work all nobly done,
We thankfully lay down God's aged saint,
With throbbing hearts, but now new-brac'd to run
Life's lonely course, if God vouchsafe us grace
To keep the love that shone through that dear face.

It was a quiet noon: the autumnal breeze
Scarce stirr'd the yellow leaves that thickly lay
Along the path beneath the solemn trees,
All eloquent of death and 'calm decay:'
There by the garden gate we laid him down,
Till he shall rise to wear the golden crown.

Early and late a worker good and true,
Of self unsparing, humble, happy, bright,
In glance and smile diffusing warmth, he drew
All hearts together by the secret might
Of love, and swan-like* ere he passed away,
Again the words of love we heard him say.

W. B.

ECCLESHALL, 24 October, 1867.

* 'Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox.'—*Cic. de Orat.* quoted by Bishop Lonsdale himself in his Memoir of Rev. T. Rennell, B.D.

The autumnal sun sinks calmly to his rest,
In glory drest,
Then, while we gaze, with undiminished ray
Passes away;
And yet we marvel not that he is gone;
His work of love is done.

We mourn not when the harvestmen go forth
From south to north,
Where the ripe sheaf among its fellows stands
Waiting their hands,
To lay it safe at last within the store
Where tempests rage no more.

Yet, now that he is taken from our eyes,
Now most we prize
The placid wisdom of the good old man,
Whose lengthened span
Of life seems all too short, if we would prove
Its measure by our love.

We lose the kindly voice which stilled the strife
When storms were rife;
The bounteous heart, wherein was room for all,
Or great or small;
The cheerful heart, which toiled serenely on
Until its task was done.

And most, amid the wild anarchic ways
Of these our days,
We miss the sway paternal of the hand,
Whose mild command
Could moderate from aberration strange
The lawless lust of change.

O loved, revered, grey head, unbowed by years
Or selfish fears!
Chief Pastor true! Thy lifelong toil at last
Sleeps with the past.
Who but would wish with toils like thine to vie,
And then like thee to die?

I. G. S.

October, 1867.

SELECTIONS

FROM THE WRITINGS,

ENGLISH, LATIN, AND GREEK,

OF

JOHN LONSDALE, D.D.,

BISHOP OF LICHFIELD.

THE NECESSITY OF FAITH IN THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

[Preached at Lincoln's Inn Chapel on Trinity Sunday, 14 June 1840.]

1 TIMOTHY, III. 9.

'Holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience.'

THE whole duty of a Christian may be said to be briefly comprehended in these words; which are closely paralleled in the first chapter of the same Epistle, where we read, 'Holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck.' In these sentences, applied in the first instance by St. Paul to Christian ministers, but applicable, without question, by parity, or at least analogy of reason, and by necessary conclusion from the whole tenor of Scripture, to every member of the Church of Christ—in these pithy sentences, I say, our religious obligations are summed up in two particulars: first, the holding of the faith to which we have been called; and secondly, the

holding of it in, or together with, 'a pure' or 'good conscience.' And a reciprocal connexion between the two is also intimated.

It may be proper to observe that in my text, as in other places of Scripture, the word to which 'mystery' answers is used to describe the doctrines of the Christian faith, not as conveying the notion of 'mysteriousness,' but as expressive of truths, which having been kept secret from mankind for ages, or but faintly shadowed out under the types and figures of the Jewish Law, and in the dark sayings of the ancient prophets, had at length been revealed and laid open in the Gospel.*

This observation however has no immediate bearing upon my present purpose, which is to call your attention to the two points already stated, but especially to the former of them, as being that, the necessity of which is the more likely to be called into question.

To dispute the obligation of endeavouring to 'have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man,' few men will presume: to admit in its full extent the duty of receiving and holding fast 'the faith which was once delivered unto the saints,' many are indisposed. And what can that faith be but the faith to the solemn recognition of which this day is

* See Macknight on 1 Cor. ii. 7, and Eph. i. 9.

dedicated, the faith of the Trinity in Unity? For the Catholic Church of Christ has never received any other.

Into the grounds upon which this faith rests, and which I have heretofore set before you, I may surely now be excused from entering at large. Into this faith we have been baptized; in this faith we have been brought up. We have walked in the house of God as familiar friends of this faith, by virtue of our communion with a Church which has not only asserted it distinctly and particularly in her formularies, has not only required it to be acknowledged and taught by her ministers, but has interwoven it also with the whole system of the public worship in which all her children join. Let it be enough to say that we hold this faith, first, because we are persuaded that (to use the language of one of our Articles) it 'may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture;' and secondly, because we are sure that the great body of the Church, from the earliest times to the present, has constantly received it upon this proof and warranty. We hold it, not as a dogma of 'man's device' (God forbid), but as an integral part, or rather as the life and soul, of that Gospel which the divine Author of it committed to the guardianship and administration of his Apostles, with this solemn and most significant charge, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.

He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.'

What the baptism here required was we are at no loss to discover; for we find another Evangelist adding to the charge as recorded by St. Mark, a command to baptize 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;' the doctrine of the Trinity being thus identified with the Gospel which was to be preached under so awful a sanction. Nor can it be denied, that if this view of the matter be taken to be the right one, if the doctrine of the Trinity be assumed to be true (for it is upon this assumption that the Church must be understood as speaking), the parallel between the saying of our Lord, which I have just quoted, and the 'damnatory clauses'* (as they are very wrongly called) in the Confession of Faith which we have heard to-day, is complete. Does not the authority of the one fully justify the use of the other, the words of Scripture being in fact the foundation of the words of the Creed? Must not an objector to the latter transfer his objection to the former? Here then we have before us the maintenance, not of the fitness of these particular clauses, but of the broad general principle upon which belief

* [Nevertheless we have seen in one of his letters (p. 112) that he 'wished we were rid of them'—not of the Athanasian creed itself, but of those two clauses which make people dislike it, and which he disliked himself, and did not repeat in church, and considered no part of the *credendum*, but only a mode of asserting it.]

in the Gospel is required, and unbelief threatened with the most fearful punishment.

To the elucidation of this principle then, especially as embodied in that emphatic saying of Christ, let us now direct our attention, as to a matter of infinite and universal importance, without reference to any merely human determination whatsoever. Here is the Founder of a new religion commissioning his first chosen ministers to disseminate it through all the world, and offer it to the acceptance of every creature; an utterly unaccountable commission, by the way, if we suppose the speaker to have been merely the son of a Galilean carpenter, addressing a few fishermen of the same country, and at the same time pronouncing a sentence of condemnation upon those who should reject it when so offered to them. A strange inversion, it may seem, of the province of human reason: a most objectionable restraint upon the exercise of that moral liberty which belongs to man.* This line of objection appears to have been judged so formidable by some, that they have endeavoured to evade it by supposing that this damnatory prediction of our Lord was uttered with a view only to the age of the Apostles, when the word preached of the Gospel would be confirmed by miracles so mighty and indisputable as would not fail to produce

* Cf. 'Three Discourses,' (II. and III.) by J. L., on Matt. xvi. 16, preached at Cambridge, 1820. [The Bishop's own note.]

conviction in every honest mind, and would therefore leave the unbeliever without excuse.

It is true that in the very next verse a promise is made of the wonderful signs that should 'follow them that believed;' and in the last verse of the chapter we find the fulfilment of the promise recorded: which might give some countenance to this supposition, were there no other Scriptural authority to make us apprehend that a rejection of the Gospel will be attended by consequences highly penal.

But the passage now before us is no solitary one. Those who are well acquainted with the Christian oracles need not be informed that they often, and in terms of general applicability, represent unbelief as a sin of the first magnitude, and of the greatest danger; that they contain the most earnest cautions, and the most fearful threatenings, against it.

What, for example, can be stronger than those words of our Lord in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel: 'He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God;' or than those of his inspired harbinger, in the same chapter, 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not on the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.' It was not for nothing that the Apostle enjoined the Hebrews (Heb. iii. 12) to beware lest there should be in any of them 'an evil heart

of unbelief.' If again we compare the manifestly parallel passages, Matt. xxiv. 51, and Luke xii. 46, with each other, we shall learn, upon the authority of Christ himself, that 'hypocrites and unbelievers' are persons whose respective designations may be mutually interchanged, and who are to have one common portion. And with this classing of them together agrees that terrible doom of 'the second death,' declared in the Apocalypse (xxi. 8) to await the 'unbelieving,' among 'the abominable, murderers,' and others. It is plain therefore, that if Scripture is to be our rule, we must look for some more satisfactory answer to the objection under our notice.

But though the condemnation denounced, by a Judge from whose sentence there is no appeal (whatever there may be from the Church speaking in her Confessions of Faith), cannot be restricted to such as heard the preaching or witnessed the miracles of Jesus or his Apostles, there are those, it is almost superfluous to remind you, to whom it cannot be extended; namely, they whom the 'good tidings' of a redeeming Saviour have either never reached at all, or to whom they have been communicated in a form and under circumstances materially detracting from their apparent credibility, or offering almost insurmountable obstacles to their reception. Such a case may be more easily imagined than defined. This exception in fact must be reasonably inferred from that

command of our Lord to 'preach the Gospel' which immediately precedes the sentence of condemnation pronounced against him that 'believeth not.' For, as the Apostle Paul argues, 'how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?' (Rom. x. 14.) To call them indeed 'unbelievers' is an abuse of language; since the terms 'belief' and 'unbelief' necessarily imply the idea of articles of faith proposed. There is a real as well as an apparent difference between unavoidable, or almost unavoidable ignorance, and voluntary rejection—between those whom 'the day-spring from on high' has never or very faintly and partially visited, and those who shut their eyes against its meridian beams; and we have abundant ground for being satisfied that there will be a no less difference in the portion awarded to each in 'the great day' of account.

In what particular balance they who belong to the former of these classes will be weighed hereafter we are not explicitly informed; though we do read that they have 'a law written in their hearts,' and 'a conscience bearing witness' (Rom. ii. 15). Undoubtedly it will be a balance of truth and justice; undoubtedly 'the Judge of all the earth will do right' (Gen. xviii. 25). And this conviction is quite enough for us to rest upon in a matter which does not concern ourselves. Again, it is conceivable that even in a Christian land there may be persons of intellectual or

moral temperament so peculiar, or under external circumstances of such disadvantage, as may make unbelief of much less guilt than in ordinary instances. But as God, and not man, is the judge in such cases, no extraordinary situation of this kind ought to occasion us any uneasiness. It is not to be supposed that a Judge all-wise and all-powerful will proceed mechanically: his remission of punishment, as well as his adjusting of rewards, may fully be believed capable of suiting all situations, however nice and complicated.'* Full opportunity and capacity of believing are manifestly presumed in the damnatory declarations to which we are referring; and they cannot with a shadow of propriety be applied to any case where these, from whatever cause, are wanting.

Leaving therefore such cases, let us proceed to the examination of the objection stated. And first let us observe what argument may, or rather must, be brought to bear upon the subject from the circumstances under which Christianity originally claimed, and indeed still claims, the attention of the world; and also from the divine attributes, considered with reference to any revelation from God to man. To determine then whether the tremendous sanction which we have seen to be annexed to the proposal

* See Hey's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 107. [The Bishop used to recommend that book.]

of the doctrines of Christianity, especially by the Person who first promulgated them, might have been reasonably expected or not, let us call to mind who that person professes to be, and with what pretensions and titles he presents himself before us. Does he appear only as some unauthorized teacher, venting upon the world the visions of an uncertain imagination, or the conclusions of an imperfect judgment? Does he claim our attention only as some child of dust, like ourselves, extracting from the scanty stores of human knowledge and wisdom such counsels as he may conceive calculated to promote the welfare of his brethren of the earth, and then presuming to anathematize those who shall have the hardihood to dispute his infallibility? I need not say that he with whom, as to the matter in question, we have to do, appears before us in a character very different from this. He appears as that mysterious Being who 'was in the beginning with God,' and 'was God' (John i. 1); as 'King of kings, and Lord of lords' (Rev. xvii. 14, xix. 16); 'the First and the Last' (Rev. i. 11, 17); as One 'by whom and for whom all things were created' (Col. i. 16); and who is 'ordained' to be the final Judge of all mankind, both 'quick and dead' (Acts x. 42).

Nay, more; he exhibits still further claims to our reverential observance. This Almighty, Everlasting One, is represented as having disrobed himself of that

divine 'glory which he had before the world was' (John xvii. 5); as having put on the garb of mortality; and even died a death of shame and agony; that he might work out for us a deliverance to which our own powers were altogether inadequate; that he might purchase for us present peace and future happiness, at a price which we ourselves could never by any possibility have paid. Or if, for the sake of argument, we ascribe to him the very lowest rank which man has thought fit to allow him, still he will appear as an ambassador from heaven to earth, invested, even by the admission of those who would degrade him to the condition of mere humanity, with authority and power far exceeding any that were ever before or have ever since been given to a human being.

And now let us ask, whether, even according to this last-mentioned, as it appears to us, most unscriptural view of his nature and office, it was befitting the dignity of one so highly commissioned, and so pre-eminently empowered to execute his commission, that he should deliver his embassy without any threat against those who should dare to deny its authenticity; that he should throw it out as it were at random, to take its chance among mankind, and be received or rejected as their caprice might dictate? Was it, I say, proper that a religion purporting to be introduced by such a person, and under such circumstances, should be left to the world, to be treated

with indifference, or contempt, or hatred, as indolence, or pride, or profligacy might suggest; without any denunciation of punishment against those who should so treat it? It is surely worthy of consideration whether this would not have been inconsistent with claims so very extraordinary; and have had the effect of detracting from their weight, by tacitly admitting the possibility of their not being sufficiently attested and confirmed, to invalidate all pretences for refusing to allow them.

But further, if we look at the matter more closely, and with reference to those moral and intellectual qualities (I would speak reverently) which must necessarily be ascribed to the Founder of Christianity, or at least to him in whose eternal counsels Christianity professes to have originated, we shall find that the awful warnings under our notice are so far from being irreconcilable with those qualities, that, had no such warnings been recorded, it would have been very difficult to account for the omission. The very supposition of a divine revelation includes the notion of its being accompanied with evidence sufficient to satisfy every attentive and upright mind. For who that has worthy conceptions of the Deity can imagine, either that his knowledge and wisdom could possibly fail in estimating the measure of evidence necessary for satisfaction, or that his goodness would permit him to withhold it? Well therefore might he pro-

nounce beforehand a sentence of condemnation upon those whom such evidence should fail to satisfy. But the truth is that these very threatenings, which have given so much offence, are a striking manifestation of the different attributes just named, especially of the divine goodness. The design of Christianity is so benevolent, being indeed (as I have already reminded you) no other than that of conducting men to happiness hereafter by the paths of peace, that the salutary 'terrors of the Lord' (to use St. Paul's expression), which are employed to enforce its reception (as far as force can be applied to a being morally free, and therefore morally accountable), are among the highest exercises and the purest emanations of heavenly mercy.

But there are other reasons of a more directly moral kind, and more nearly connected with the latter of the points contained in my text, which will tend powerfully to open our eyes to the duty of Christian belief, and to the sin and danger of unbelief. Should it appear that the unbelief condemned by the law of Christ is in its nature such as may properly be made the subject of condemnation, all just cause of complaint on this head will vanish. Now it has been often urged that if the Christian religion be open to free inquiry (as we know, not only from reason, but from its own express and repeated declarations, that it is)—if the truth or falsehood of it is to be decided

by natural evidence, belief or unbelief must depend upon the light in which that evidence may appear to us: and should our examination terminate in the latter, it would be a result over which we had no control, and for which consequently we could not in justice be liable to punishment.

But whatever speciousness there may be in this way of arguing, it is in truth founded upon a partial representation of the case. In questions indeed of abstract speculation the understanding is the sole judge; and its assent or dissent, being uninfluenced by the will, cannot be properly subject to either praise or censure. But in those which have a practical nature and tendency it is far otherwise. Who has not observed that the decision of questions every day arising, both of a public and private kind, depends greatly, very greatly, upon the measure of attention paid to them, and also upon the degree of impartiality exercised? The will therefore, no less or more than the judgment, being employed, moral accountableness of necessity follows. But this is eminently the case where religion is concerned.

The causes of unbelief have been ably and properly classed under many heads; but they may perhaps be all reduced under the two to which I have just now adverted,—want of due attention, and want of due impartiality. Take away from the ranks of infidelity all whom these two auxiliaries have enrolled under her

banner, and they will be thinned indeed. With regard to the former—want of due attention—its influence is but too notoriously extensive. Devoted to present occupations and enjoyments, and eager in the pursuit of visible objects, or reposing in indolence which it is painful to shake off, very many are unwilling to trouble themselves with investigating the evidences of a religion which holds out to them only, or principally, the hopes of distant and unseen advantages. Others again, having in the outset of the inquiry observed some difficulty which to a hasty glance appears insurmountable, proceed no further, but are content to become either avowed unbelievers, or at least to sink into real infidelity, whatever may be the profession which they may outwardly put on. It is plain that he who never interests himself so far in the matter as seriously and in earnest to ask the question, 'What must I do to be saved?' cannot possibly be satisfied with the answer, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.'

Let us pause however for a moment, and see what it is which is here treated with such neglect and indifference. If Christianity came before us without assuming any special authority, or advancing any peculiar claims in itself to our attention—if it could be shewn to be a mere matter of abstract opinion, or an event of history long gone by with all its effects—if we had good grounds for thinking it calculated for no better end

than to supply food for the speculations of the curious, or to give creation and form to the dreams of visionaries and enthusiasts,—then we might be well content, while the arguments for its truth or falsehood were under discussion, to sit idle and unconcerned auditors. But who is there among us so little acquainted with the religion into which he has been baptized, as not to be well aware that it exhibits, even to the most cursory observer, an appearance the very reverse of all this? Who does not know (as I have already intimated) that (to speak of it not according to the highest notions) it pretends to be stamped with no meaner authority than that of Heaven itself; that it professes to offer pardon to the guilty, strength to the weak, comfort to the afflicted, direction to the wandering; to lay down the purest and wisest rules of action, and to enforce them by the most weighty sanctions; to embrace, in short, the whole circle of human interests, both present and future; to be our guide through time, and our assurance of happiness through eternity?

What shall we say then? Such being the high professions and alleged most beneficial tendency of the Gospel (that Gospel which is offered to us from day to day), how shall we answer to its supposed Author, to those who must naturally be affected by our judgment respecting it, or to ourselves, if we but half open our eyes to examine its credentials? When so momentous

a cause, with all its adjuncts and consequences, is before us, how shall we be justified if, like Gallio, we 'care for none of these things;' or if, like Pilate, more in jest than in earnest, we ask, 'What is truth?' and then immediately turn away from the source of information, without waiting for an answer. Mere folly must it be to flatter ourselves that inattention to such claims as these (claims too which have been admitted by the wise and good in all ages) is excusable, or not highly criminal. It is a wilful disregard of God's offers, and a presumptuous neglect of the means of happiness which he appears to have placed within our reach. Surely the condemnation pronounced against it is just; surely it is what reason itself might have led us to expect. In wisdom and in mercy did our divine Master repeat so often that solemn exhortation, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.' And forcibly applicable in this case is the Apostle's saying, 'How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?'

Upon that other cause of unbelief which I have mentioned—want of impartiality—though a cause, it is to be feared, most fatally operative, I must touch very briefly. Of those who have really inquired into the evidences of the Gospel, and determined against their validity, it may well be thought that very few indeed have been fair and unprejudiced judges. The fact is that the religion of Christ is a code of laws as well as a system of doctrine, a rule of practice as

well as of faith. It has certain moral conditions inseparably connected with it (as my text intimates), to which there is but too often a great unwillingness to submit. This is the great rock of offence upon which very many, from the earliest days of the Gospel until now, 'having put away a good conscience,' as we have heard St. Paul speaking, 'concerning faith have made shipwreck.' Cherishing unchristian dispositions and passions in their bosoms, and very often devoted also to unchristian habits which they will not consent to abandon, men pretend to decide upon the evidences of a religion from which they have little to hope, and much to fear, if it be true. They interest themselves on the side of vice, and then sit down (preposterous mockery) to examine the claim and merits of its direct and uncompromising adversary. They take a bribe from Belial, and then call Christ to the judgment-seat. What wonder if the cry, 'Away with him; Crucify him,' prevail? In this, as well as in other instances, men will believe that to be false which they wish so. The mind has little to do here: it is the heart that decides the question. Well did the Apostle say, 'with the heart man believeth unto righteousness.' And with a perfect knowledge of its influence do the inspired writers frequently intimate, and sometimes expressly assert, that the acceptance or rejection of divine revelation is a test of moral character. It is manifest that unbelief, when it proceeds from the

principle last mentioned, carries with it its own condemnation. They who 'love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil,' must stand condemned by the laws of natural religion on the ground of those deeds alone, though belief or disbelief in the Gospel were put out of the question.

Into the consideration of the second point in my text, time will not allow me to enter; nor perhaps is it necessary. As we have seen that the absence of those dispositions and habits which make 'a good conscience' is a great obstacle to the holding of 'the mystery of the faith,' so are we sure that the faith which is not held 'in a pure conscience' cannot be a genuine faith: for our Church, following the testimonies of Scripture, and not blind to lessons of reason and experience, has declared that 'out of a true and lively faith good works do necessarily spring.' The God of truth and holiness has established a reciprocal alliance between truth of doctrine and holiness of life; and woe be to us if we put asunder what he has joined together. But if we keep them in their natural unity with each other, they will flourish in mutual support: they will make us to walk in the light of God's countenance here, and in the hope of being admitted to his beatific presence hereafter.

THE UNJUST STEWARD.

[Preached at Hanford 9 Aug. 1862; again, with alterations, at Bonsall church reopening 4 Aug. 1863; at Hornsey 12 June 1864; and at Sudbury in Derbyshire 17 July 1864.]

LUKE XVI. 1.

'There was a certain rich man which had a steward, and the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods.'

THE parable of which these words are the beginning was read in our churches on Sunday last as the Gospel for the day. Anything therefore which I may now say on the subject of it can hardly be regarded as a word not 'spoken in due season.' But there is another reason why I may well bring it under your consideration. The parable of 'the unjust steward' is a remarkable one; it is remarkable in itself; it is remarkable also as being not seldom misunderstood, and that too by educated persons, and as having even been a cause of offence to some. More than one intelligent person have spoken of it to me as appearing to them to convey a strange lesson, and one which they found it hard to reconcile with the principles of Christian, or even of common righteousness.

Now that in the holy Scriptures there are some things hard to be understood must be freely acknowledged. It could not indeed have been otherwise; from causes into which I need not now enter. And the Scriptures themselves expressly tell us that it is so. But that there are such things—I mean to a serious amount—in the parable before us I am not prepared to allow: for it contains nothing which a little attention will not make clear. And I would beg of you, my Christian brethren, to consider whether we be not all of us, according to the several abilities and opportunities given and means of instruction offered to us, bound to bestow more than a *little* attention upon the word of God; remembering as well from whom it comes, as also with what unspeakably important consequences to us the study or the neglect, the use or abuse of it, is attended, both in this life and in that which is to come. I would beg of you to consider also, whether, if men are so unwearied in their endeavours to understand thoroughly the matters of worldly knowledge or practice with which they have to do, to search to the very bottom whatever on the surface of them seems to be difficult, they can be justified in taking little or no pains, in seeking no help (ever at hand as it is) rightly to understand the word of God, or at least those portions of it which the church from time to time brings before them.

I am sure, my friends, that if you will thus con-

sider the matter, you will see that we are 'without excuse,' if, when any scriptural difficulty seems to meet us, 'straightway we are offended,' and without caring to ascertain whether it be a real, or only a seeming difficulty, say, like the slothful man in the Proverbs, 'There is a lion in the way.' Seeing however that there are such careless ones, I would fain hope that it will not be a misuse of the present opportunity if I briefly go through the parable, with a view, first to a clear understanding, and secondly, to a right application of it to ourselves.

'There was a certain rich man which had a steward; 'and the same was accused unto him that he had 'wasted his goods. And he called him, and said unto 'him, How is it that I hear this of thee? Give an 'account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no 'longer steward. Then the steward said within him-'self, What shall I do? for my lord taketh away from 'me the stewardship: I cannot dig; to beg I am 'ashamed. I am resolved what to do, that when I 'am put out of the stewardship they' (namely his lord's debtors) 'may receive me into their houses. 'So he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, 'and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto 'my lord? And he said, An hundred measures of oil. 'And he said unto him, Take thy bill, sit down 'quickly and write fifty.' The word here translated 'bill' means a writing or bond; and the sense is,

'take from me the bond which thou hast given me, as my lord's steward, for the debt due to him, and instead of letting it still be for a hundred measures alter the amount to fifty.' 'Then said he to another, 'And how much owest thou? And he said, An hundred 'measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Take 'thy bill and write fourscore. And the lord com-'mended the unjust steward.'

These last words, 'the lord commended the unjust steward,' it must be plain to any tolerably attentive reader, are not the words of the Evangelist speaking of Jesus, but they are the words of Jesus himself continuing the parable and speaking of another person. The 'lord' therefore spoken of as commending the unjust steward is not the Lord Jesus, but the 'rich man' of whom we read in the first verse of the chapter. Well, the lord of the unjust steward, we are told in the parable, commended him. Not, observe, for his general character, the badness of which is sufficiently marked by his being described as 'unjust,' unrighteous; not for his 'wrong and robbery' in the particular instance before us (in which he is represented as endeavouring to provide for himself by defrauding his lord and bribing his lord's debtors); but simply and solely, as we find stated in express terms, 'because he had done wisely;' because he had shown himself prudent in providing a refuge for himself from the want that threatened him, on

his removal from the stewardship. Let us attend now to Christ's words which immediately follow, and which conclude the portion of Scripture appointed by the Church to be read to her congregation. 'For the children of this world are in their 'generation wiser than the children of light. And 'I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the 'mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye fail, 'they may receive you into everlasting habitations.'

Christ here begins his application of the parable; which application is continued to the end of the twelfth verse, though we have no need at present to go so far. It is as though he had said, 'And no wonder that the steward should have acted thus prudently:' 'for the children of this world,' men who, like him, live only for this world, are, 'in their generation,' in their day, their short day, 'wiser,' with regard to their worldly concerns, than 'the children of light,' men who walk in the light of divine truth, are with regard to their spiritual interests. This charge then I now give to you my disciples. As the steward used the riches which were for a time in his keeping, for the purpose of making himself friends upon earth, in like manner do ye so use 'the mammon of unrighteousness,' the worldly possessions that is to say, which so often lead men, as they led him, to act unrighteously, that you may 'make to yourselves friends' in heaven: friends through whom, when ye fail, when this world

fails you, when death removes you hence, ye may be received, not like him, into earthly and perishable houses, but into heavenly and 'everlasting habitations.'

Thus, brethren, have I endeavoured, perhaps with needless particularity so far as many of my hearers are concerned, to make this parable plain to every one here present. Let us now see how it is to be applied to ourselves and to our own daily walk of life: and I will add, how it bears also upon the occasion which has assembled us within these sacred walls to-day. Our Lord's parables are generally designed to set forth and enforce some one or two points of doctrine or practice. It is always therefore material to observe carefully what those points are; since for want of such observation these parables are not unfrequently taken as bearing upon matters to which they have in truth no relation.

Now the design of the parable before us is not to dwell on the unprincipled and fraudulent character of the steward, but to teach men that they should imitate generally in their spiritual concerns the forethought and the wisdom which he showed, and which other worldly men show in providing for their temporal interests; and in particular, that they should so use the worldly goods with which they are entrusted as God's stewards, upon earth, as thereby to 'lay up for themselves treasures in heaven.'

To each of these points I would now in an earnest and plain way direct your thoughts. 'The children of this world,' said he who knew what was in man, 'are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light.' And how full of sad truth is the saying! How humbling is the superiority in wisdom which the men who (as the Psalmist expresses himself) 'have their portion in this life,' and who take little or no thought for any other, exhibit, while the short period of their earthly generation lasts, over those who profess to take the light of God's word for their guide, and who really do walk by that light to a certain extent; who persuade themselves that they have the one great concern of eternity at heart, and who indeed bestow upon it some degree of attention. What forethought and earnestness do we see in the one—what improvidence and carelessness in the other! What ingenuity is displayed on the one hand in devising schemes for the attainment of worldly wealth, or worldly distinction! What industry, and patience, and perseverance in carrying them into execution! What haste to rise up early (as the Psalmist speaks) and late taking of rest, and eating of the bread of carefulness! What dulness on the other hand, and indolence, and faint-heartedness, mark men's progress in the way of eternal life! The steward, in the parable, found that he was about to be deprived of his stewardship; and so he lost no time in making provision for his sub-

sistence when the means which he had hitherto possessed should fail him. The man of business in like manner observes the signs which foreshow the approach of bad times, and hastens to place himself in such a position as will enable him to stand against them.

But they who 'profess and call themselves Christians' often glide almost unconcernedly down the stream of time, with little or no preparation for the gulf of eternity to which it is every moment carrying them nearer. Well therefore and wisely are we directed by our Church in her Litany to beseech God to deliver us 'from sudden death;' the death, that is, for which we are not prepared, since no other death is sudden in a religious point of view. And small right shall we have to be accounted Christians 'in spirit and in truth' if we do not join heartily and fervently in this prayer; and if we do not add to our prayers our frequent reflections upon the comparative value of things temporal and things eternal. Thus by God's grace working in us and with us, we may be enabled to take a lesson out of the worldling's book. We may learn to copy his wisdom and forethought, and to make them instrumental to the attainment of a far nobler end; and, while he is 'careful and troubled about many things' which all his care cannot save him from soon losing altogether, to lay hold on that 'one thing needful,' 'that good part which shall not be taken from us.'

But the parable speaks of a rich man and his goods, and of a steward who wasted them; and so turns our thoughts (as does the occasion of our meeting here to-day) to the case of those who have riches, or any considerable portion of this world's goods, committed to their keeping and administration. To them without question a stewardship of no little importance belongs. A stewardship. How much is implied in this word! How deeply does the truth involved in it lie at the foundation of true religion! How nearly does it affect us all! But I am speaking now more especially of the holders of wealth. Too often do they forget, or at least care not to remember, that they hold it as God's stewards: and hence their misuse of it, and consequent guilt before him.

And yet if they would but reflect a little, they could hardly be unmindful of a truth to which not only religion, but nature also, and reason, bear constant witness. How, I say, could such men look (as they do) upon everything which they enjoy as being altogether their own possession and to be disposed of by them (except where human laws interfere) solely according to their own will and fancies, if they would but consider whence that enjoyment is really derived? For they must soon see that it is neither derived from their own powers and resources; nor can be continued by them at their own pleasure; but on the contrary, depends entirely upon a regular order of the universe

with the original settlement of which they had nothing whatever to do, and which is kept up and maintained by a power infinitely greater than any which they can boast.

It is true, that many things which minister to our gratification, and upon which we set a value, seem to be the fruit of our own exertions. And so they are, in a sense: this at least is the immediate channel through which they are conveyed to us. But of what avail would those exertions be, if the general order of the world (that order, over which, as I have said, we have no sort of control) were to be interrupted; if the seasons were no longer to return, or day and night to succeed each other, according to their appointed course; or if (which comes nearer home to us) the faculties of our bodies or minds should fail us; as we know but too well they may? But however this be, it cannot be denied that all we have may be taken from us in a moment, and that too when we least expect it, by the unwelcome intruder Death; who thus rudely awakens us, whether we will or no, from our dreams of possession. Well then—since it is undeniable that the things which we enjoy here upon earth do not depend upon our own power, or wisdom, either for their origin or their continuance; since we cannot even command the faculties by which, or the life during which, we enjoy them, it must needs follow that they are not truly and properly our

own ; that we have only the use and occupation, and not the absolute proprietorship of them. Since again, the things thus enjoyed by us exhibit marks which cannot be mistaken of being the work of a wise designer, and a mighty Creator, it follows no less certainly that to him alone of right unquestionably they belong, and that to his disposal they are perpetually subject : so that if we hold them for a while, we hold them not as lords but as tenants, or according to the similitude in the parable, as stewards under him—even under God ; who (as St. Paul describes him to the self-conceited but ignorant and unwise Athenians) made the world and all things therein, who is Lord of heaven and earth, and 'giveth to all life and breath and all things.'

He then it is who is represented by the 'rich man' in the parable : that is, who alone can properly be called rich ; for not only all the beasts of the forest are his, and the cattle upon a thousand hills, but all riches whatever, whether temporal or spiritual, whether of Providence, or of grace ; and he 'distributeth of them to every man severally as he will.' He alone can truly say, 'Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own ?'

Well would it be for the holders of the world's wealth, well would it be for the world in general, if they would never lose sight of these simple, but most weighty considerations ; if they would constantly bear in mind

both the tenure whereby, and the purposes for which, they hold this wealth. For assuredly they do not by any original title of their own, but simply by the will of their heavenly Lord.

And again they hold it not solely or principally for their own selfish gratification, but for the good of their fellow-creatures; not to make provision out of it for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof; for St. Paul assures as that 'if we live unto the flesh we shall die:' not to hoard it up unprofitably; for St. James says that 'the rust of it shall be a witness' against such hoarders; but as St. Peter teaches, "that they may minister the same one to another,' by the relief of distress, by the employment of industry, by the instruction of ignorance, by the encouragement of virtue, by the maintenance and advancement of true religion.

And from this ministration (such is the wise and gracious order of God's Providence) their highest and purest gratification even in this world will proceed: an earnest as it were and a foretaste of the enjoyment of those 'true riches,' that treasure in the heavens that faileth not, of which God's faithful servants have an assurance in Christ Jesus.

But the stewardship of which I am speaking is not confined to the holders of 'this world's good,' or to any particular class of persons. No, my friends and brethren: we are all of us without exception, 'high and low, rich and poor, one with another,' stewards under God,

the universal Lord; stewards of time, and health, and reason, as men; of Gospel light, and covenanted grace, and Church privileges, as Christians. Every one of us therefore has need to be continually careful that he waste not his Lord's goods, be they many, or be they few. The responsibility is universal, though (it should seem) not laid upon all in equal proportions. And to this the exhortation of the Apostle Peter agrees, 'As every man hath received the gift, even 'so minister the same one to another, as good stew-'ards of the manifold grace of God.' The grace then of God is manifold; the gifts, both in kind, and in measure, are various; every man is God's steward; and every man is bound to minister, according to 'the ability which God 'giveth' him, to his neighbour for good. We have all of us need to strive, and pray, to be in the daily habit of reflecting what use we are making of God's gifts—gifts inasmuch as they proceed entirely from the free bounty of the Giver; but only loans or trusts in relation to the tenure by which we have the use of them. We all of us indeed waste them more or less. There is none among us but must be deeply sensible that if the great Master and Distributor should enter into a strict account with his servants, we could not, no not for a moment, stand that fearful reckoning. If however our consciences do not charge us with wilful, or habitual waste, we may remember, for our exceeding comfort, that he who is

to be our Judge, has been our Redeemer, and is now our Intercessor — nay more, that 'in the day of his flesh,' he also was a steward (in a way indeed passing our comprehension, but still real) and had a ministry from on high committed to him. Yet farther we may remember that 'in that' (during the exercise of that ministry) 'he himself suffered, being tempted,' he can 'be touched with the feeling of our infirmities' and 'is able to succour them that are tempted.'

But we shall do well to remember, at the same time, how he spoke of himself, in this his mysterious capacity. 'I must work,' said he, 'the works of him 'that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh 'in which no man can work.' What a singularly impressive lesson is here! He who so spoke knew certainly when the period of his stewardship was to end. And he employed every part of it to the utmost in fulfilling the mission of love on which he came into the world. We too, like him (I would make the comparison with all reverence), we too have to work the works of him who placed us here, while our short day lasts. But how diligently ought we to work— we who, unlike him, are in total uncertainty as to the time when that day will close and when the soul-awakening summons will be addressed to each of us, 'Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest 'be no longer steward.'

*And now, my friends and brethren, I need not be at any pains to point out the connexion between the general subject which I have brought before you, plainly and scripturally, and the particular occasion which has assembled us here to-day. For we have here before us a signal instance of that wise exercise of stewardship, that religious disposal of things temporal for the attainment of things eternal, of which I have been speaking. And we have great cause for thankfulness to Him from whom all works of piety and charity proceed, that now, for many years past, such instances have been exceedingly multiplied, and the number of such faithful stewards remarkably increased among us in the Church at large, and not least in this Diocese. The work now before us has grown under the hands of those who, in their zeal for God's glory, and for the good of his people, undertook it. For see how it is spoken of in the first appeal for aid. 'The work undertaken is of the 'simplest kind; the object in view being to preserve 'or restore the original character of the building.' This indeed has been done, but something more than this. Not only have the decays of more than one century been repaired; not only have obstructions and defacements been removed, but something of new beauty has been added. And still the work is of a simple kind: it is still, through the taste and skill

* The rest was added for Bonsall church restoration.

and judgment of its well-known director, characterized by that simple grace which best becomes the sacred edifices of the Church of England; simple, solemnly simple, as that Church is in its ritual, and forms of worship.

If this were a mere gratification of our taste, I should not think it the cause for satisfaction which I do. Not surely that the love of the beautiful and grand, which God has implanted, more or less in us all, should be suffered to lie dormant, when his houses of prayer, the places where his honour dwelleth among men, are concerned. But a higher and a holier object has been aimed at, and we hope and trust will be attained, in what has been done here.

For Scripture, and reason, and experience, all teach us that such beauty in our churches as you now see before you, tends to solemnize and deepen devotion, and to lead the thoughts, and raise the affections of the worshipper from an outward and material to an inward and spiritual 'beauty of holiness.'

I have said experience; for many pastors in these our days, have found the happy effects of works such as this, in the increased number, and improved character of their congregations, and in their own souls also.

Well, my friends and brethren, such a work as that now before you could not have been brought to its

present state (I fear I can hardly say completed) without the exercise of great zeal, great labour, great perseverance, great liberality. And assuredly these have not been wanting here. They have been especially manifested (I cannot refrain from saying) in one who holds an important office in this Church—important in the eye of the law—still more important in its relation to the order of God's house, and the decency of God's worship. May he be blessed to see the fruits of his love of that house, and his devotedness to that worship. I have spoken of the great zeal, and labour, and perseverance, and liberality, which this undertaking has called forth. Would that I had not to speak also of the great, I fear I must say, the unusually great deficiency in the funds requisite for its completion. But I would speak of this hopefully, knowing as I do how often even larger deficiencies have been supplied by the ungrudged and unstinted bounty of God's good and faithful stewards—of those who know and feel that thankfulness is best evidenced by thank offerings.

My friends and brethren you have now an opportunity of showing yourselves to be such stewards. How many more such opportunities you may have, you know not. The Apostle's well known precept is strictly applicable here. 'As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men, but specially unto them that are of the household of faith.'

ON CHURCH MUSIC.

[Preached at the Biennial Choral Festival in Lichfield Cathedral, 19 June 1866; and again, with alterations, at the opening of new organs, at Market Drayton, 2 Feb.; at Aston near Newport, 8 October; and at Upper Tean near Uttoxeter, 18 October 1867, the day before the Bishop died. It is printed here as he preached it last.]

PSALM XCV. 1, 2.

'O come, let us sing unto the Lord: let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, and make a joyful noise unto him with psalms.'

IT is one of our many obligations, my friends and brethren, to the Church in whose arms we were nursed, and through whose ministration we are fed with the bread of life, that, in the regular course of her services, she has made us familiar from our earliest years, and constantly keeps up our familiarity, with the Book of Psalms.* For there is no book of Holy Scripture which bears more manifestly upon its face

* The Bishop was fond of preaching on this book. One of the old curates of Eccleshall writes, 'How he used to revel in the Psalms.'

the marks of its own inspiration: there is none for the existence of which, as it is, a thinking unbeliever will find more difficulty in accounting upon his own principles. The picture which it exhibits to us of the relation known and felt by its authors, and especially by the royal Psalmist, to subsist between God and them, is marked by a reality and a life which cannot, as it appears to me, reasonably be attributed to fanaticism or to imposture. The whole character of the book is equally removed from both these.

Now there is nothing more charming in this invaluable portion of God's Word than its infinite variety of subjects. And among those subjects there are few which are brought before us more frequently or more impressively than the honour which belongs to the House of God; the veneration and the love which it inspires; the pleasure and the profit by which the dwellers in it (an expression frequently occurring in the Psalms), that is to say, the constant worshippers therein, are recompensed.

In illustration of this there is no need for me to bring before you passages from the Psalms which will at once come to your remembrance, and the language of which is remarkably forcible and fervid, and evidently from the heart. Now what shall we say of this language? May we not take it as a test of the depth of our own religious impressions? If we have little or no sympathy with the feelings which prompted it

—if, for example, we have not been able to say to-day, in something of David's spirit, 'I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of the Lord,' or again with him at all times 'Lord I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth,'—have we not cause to fear that all is not well within?

I speak now of the feeling which should lead us to the worship of God in his sanctuary, and should be with us there, independently of obligations to the constant and zealous observance of it resulting from the precepts and the examples of His written word.

Our nature is still what it was in the days when 'the Spirit of the Lord spake by the sweet Psalmist of Israel' (2 Sam. xxiii. 1, 2) in these matchless 'songs of Zion.' And it is still true that, fit and divinely sanctioned (Matt. vi. 5) as the silent closet and shut door are for the pouring forth of the soul before its Saviour and its Judge, there is a majesty in God's consecrated house which awakens emotions of a higher character in a rightly disposed mind. This (according to the fine language of the Psalmist already quoted by me) is 'the place where God's honour dwelleth.' And accordingly there is a solemnity inseparable from it, tending to that wise and salutary awe which becomes the creature before the Creator—the being 'of yesterday' (Job viii. 9) before Him 'who is, and was, and is to come' (Rev. iv. 8).

It was not without deep meaning that the Psalmist said 'O God, thou art terrible out of thy holy places' (Ps. lxviii. 35); and, again, 'God is greatly to be feared in the assembly of the saints.' For he who joins himself to that assembly, in the spirit of humble and hearty devotion, will at times find something there which will almost make him feel (as the patriarch felt) that the 'house of God' 'is the gate of heaven' (Gen. xxviii. 17).

But further—There is a moral 'beauty of holiness' in a well ordered Christian congregation, which composes and purifies the soul. There is a contagion of piety (if I may so speak) generated by the place, which spreads the influence of religious feelings, and communicates it from one worshipper to another. And surely, when we remember how strongly our minds are riveted to this world, how much they are occupied by objects of earth and sense, and under what dulness and inaptitude towards spiritual things they labour, we shall be ready to admit that some such helps as these are needed to collect our scattered thoughts, to warm our cold affections, to rouse our slumbering zeal, and to raise our aspirations from earth to heaven. We are creatures of impulse and of feeling, as well as of reason: and it is a great mistake, and shows no little ignorance of human nature, to think that we shall serve the cause of religion by trusting for its support within us to reasonable con-

victions alone. Let us hear the words (familiar, I doubt not, to some at least who hear me) of a great authority upon this subject. 'Manifest it is,' says Hooker, 'that the very majesty and holiness of the place where God is worshipped hath, in regard to us, great virtue, force, and efficacy; for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion; and, in that respect, no doubt bettereth even our holiest and best actions in this kind. As therefore we exhort all men everywhere to worship God, even so, for the performance of this service by the people of God assembled we think not any place so good as the Church, neither any exhortation so fit as that of David, 'O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.'' That when David used this expression, 'the beauty of holiness,' he had in view the beauty and order of the services of the Tabernacle (for the Temple was not yet) cannot, I think, reasonably be questioned, though we, rising from things material to things spiritual, may give a higher sense to it.

And one as unlike the author of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity' as ever man was to man, the author of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' was led to a similar conclusion by very different principles: for the cause of truth is not established by one class of witnesses alone. 'The devotion of the poet or the philosopher,' writes Gibbon, 'may be secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and study; but the exercise of

public worship appears to be the only solid foundation of the religious sentiments of the people, which derive their force from imitation and habit.' *

To return to the Book of Psalms. I have said that one of its greatest charms is its variety. And every reader of it knows over how wide a range of subjects it extends, and how applicable it is to very different circumstances of human life, and to very different feelings of human nature. In turns the Psalms are historical, prophetical, descriptive, morally instructive. Again, while their language is often that of sin and sorrow, it is more often that of joy and thankfulness. And it is this joyous and thankful tone which prevails in them when the house of God and its services are their theme.

The passage which I have taken for my text to-day is one of very many evidences of this. But it is more than this. It is an evidence also of the musical character of those services. And so we find elsewhere in the Psalms, the royal Psalmist speaking of his harp not as employed by him for the purpose to which he turned it when its soothing notes drove away the evil spirit from Saul in the king's private chamber, but as an instrument of praising God, rejoicing aloud 'in the midst of the congregation.' It is on this account that he calls his harp his 'glory,'

* 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' chap. xxviii. vol. v. p. 122, 8vo., 1816.

and bids it 'awake' to its holy and gladsome work; for he had consecrated it to the honour and the worship of his Almighty Lord and Defender.

In this respect, as in so many others, the Psalms are an illustration, and so an incidental and manifestly undesigned confirmation, of the historical books of the Old Testament. For these books bear continuous witness to the use of music in the congregational worship of the Most High—first, in the Tabernacle, afterwards in the Temple. The Jewish Priesthood were musicians by their office; and, for this purpose, they were divided into bodies, of which each had its leader. Music formed an essential part of every religious ceremony in the Jewish Church. We seem indeed to learn from the Jewish Scriptures even the origin of instrumental music, for they record (not without some special significancy) the name of Jubal as 'the father of all such as handle the harp and organ' (Gen. iv. 21). In the same Scriptures also we find the first recorded song, as sung by 'Moses and the children of Israel unto the Lord' after the triumphant passage of the Red Sea; while 'Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances' (Exod. xv. 1-20).

The old Roman poet, referring everything to Nature and nothing to God, tells us that men learnt

vocal music from the notes of the birds, and the use of the pipe from the whistling of the zephyrs among the hollow reeds. But we, my friends and brethren, we who have the light of God's Word for our guide, must refer music to a much higher origin. We must look upon the knowledge of it as taught by him; we must regard it as one of the many provisions which he has made for our enjoyment, as well as our subsistence, clearing our passage through this world; and therefore we must confess, that in the celebration of his goodness and greatness is its worthiest application and its noblest use. So at least it has been used in all ages of the Church, both Jewish and Christian. To this all Scripture and all Church History bear continuous witness. To the testimony of the Jewish Scriptures I have already adverted; and in regard to the Christian Scriptures, I need hardly remind any one who hears me of the hymn sung by our Lord and his Apostles before his last Passover, or of the praises which Paul and Silas sang to God in the prison at Philippi, or of the injunctions given afterwards by the same Apostle Paul to his children in the faith (Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16), that they should 'speak to one another, and admonish one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, and sing and make melody, with grace in their hearts, to the Lord.' And surely we may regard these Scripturally recorded, these melodious effusions of piety

upon earth, as types of that 'new song of the Lamb' and of 'the harps of God,' which the Apostle John heard when the worship of the heavenly Church was opened to his eyes and ears. Surely, even in these later days, we may regard Church music as tending to bring the service of the Church militant into harmony with the service of the Church triumphant.

If we turn from Scriptural to other testimonies, we shall find Christian historians and Christian fathers bearing abundant witness to the use of music, and especially of vocal music, at the religious meetings of the early Christians. And what is perhaps yet more interesting, as found where we could hardly have expected to find it, we have upon this subject the well known testimony of a Pagan writer, who describes the Christians of his day, when the Roman Empire was yet unchristianised, as accustomed to meet, at stated times before day-break, and to sing a song, and that triumphantly, to Christ as their God.*

But in truth, my friends and brethren, if there were no such lessons or examples—if we were to consult only our own nature, our own reason, our own experience—we should find warranty enough for the careful cultivation and continual improvement of religious music. Which of us does not know and feel (some of us indeed, from the variety of our natural gifts and temperaments, more than others) the power

* Pliny's Letters to Trajan, Ep. x. 97.

of music (mighty as its agency is for other purposes) to awaken a religious spirit in us, and in particular, to enliven, to elevate, to solemnize, the united lifting up of our prayers and praises to the throne of grace.

It could not then be a happy period in the history of our own Church (it was not we know in other respects) when this part of our services—so highly sanctioned and so attractive, so animating, so impressive in itself—fell into neglect, and even into contempt, in our parish churches; becoming not only altogether ineffective but even ridiculous,—not only not ministering to godliness, but even provoking irreverential feelings, and not unfrequently giving occasion to ungodly jests. But, at the period to which I am looking back, there was worse (as it seems to me) even than this, in some of the places of worship which bore the name of the Church of England. There was the mere professional singer, displaying his talent sometimes in the church sometimes in the theatre; performing his part of the Church service, and altogether void of interest in any part of the service except his own, and not unfrequently even going out of the house of God to some more congenial place as soon as that part had been performed. What room was there, in such a case, for that 'melody with grace in the heart,' which the great Apostle required in his singers, and to which

alone we can hope that the ears of a heart-searching God can be open?

But these and other like (may I not call them?) desecrations of God's house have passed away, and its decency and dignity, to say the least, in outward and material things, has been reasserted. Let us thank God for the change; and let us pray him to make it the instrument of an inward and spiritual blessing to us. Well then to adapt our Church music to its high and holy purpose, with especial relation to its use in our parish churches, to make it at once correct and simple, solemn and spirit-stirring, popular but not vulgar, devotional, and at the same time congregational, must needs be a work of wisdom and of piety.

This, I say, should be aimed at, especially in our parish churches (our cathedrals will take care of themselves); for the popular life of our Church, if I may so speak, is there. If the musical part of the services therein be such as to interest the worshippers, and to lead them to join in it heartily, devoutly, and intelligently, so that the Psalmist's precept, 'sing ye praises with understanding,' may be realized, we may well hope that it will be helpful, not only to increased attachment to our Church, but to the growth of the Christian life among our people. Unless the music in our parochial churches be of this character, it will fail of attaining its proper aim and end; it may gratify

the taste of a few, but it will not exalt and purify the devotion of the many.

It was for the attainment of this end that our Diocesan Choral Association was instituted. It was the first association of the kind: and its example has been followed in many other dioceses. It has done good service, in this way, for now more than ten years, in many of our parishes: and I seek no other ground than its parochial usefulness, for commending it to your favour and support.

And it is with the same object in view that we are now met here. It has not been thought seemly or right, that the instrument of sacred music which has been heard for the first time to-day within these sacred walls, should be placed in the house of God without such a religious inauguration as becomes its place and use. We must feel, I am persuaded, that 'it is good for us to be here' for such a solemn purpose. May God make it one of profit as well as pleasure to us.

But, my friends and brethren in Christ, besides the particular objects which Church Associations and Church Meetings may have in view, there is one great and general lesson which ought always, if not to be learnt from them, at least to be more deeply impressed upon us by them,—I mean the lesson of unity and brotherly love. We associate ourselves and we meet together on this and other like occasions, as servants

of one Master, as subjects of one Lord, as redeemed by one Saviour, as bound together by the sacred ties of one brotherhood and one communion.

You know how touchingly that Master and Lord prayed for the unity of his disciples, in some of his latest words upon earth. You know how earnestly his Apostle Paul, the Apostle of Gentiles, deprecated the rupture of this unity among his converts. You know how grievously the Church of Christ has suffered from the want of this unity in succeeding ages; and you know too, I think, and feel how much need of it we have now. We are divided about forms and rites and modes of worship, while we ought to be united for works of faith and charity, and for the diminution, so far as may be, of the mass of ignorance, of vice, of indifference and irreligion that is around us.

Is it then too much to hope that such meetings as the present, if we come to them in a right spirit, may, under God's blessing, lead us — clergy and laity — to consider how we may more and more 'take sweet counsel together, and walk in the house of God as friends;' not magnifying small points of difference among us, but ever dwelling upon and rejoicing in those essential truths, those great bonds of union which are common to us all, and which should make us 'all of one mind' in all things that concern us vitally and enduringly.

If this be not our desire and our aim, it must be because we are wanting in that spirit of mutual love by which our Master declared that his disciples shall be known, and which his great faith-magnifying Apostle declared to be the chief of Christian graces. It will be well if these occasions of our meeting together before God lead us to examine ourselves as to our deficiency in this grace, that so we may be led to cultivate it more carefully, and to pray for it more earnestly. The same inspired teacher who tells us that 'we are saved by faith, through grace,' tells us also that the only faith which 'availeth anything' is the 'faith which worketh by love.'

RICARDUS SHILLETO *amicissimo* JACOBO G. LONSDALE, *S. P. D.*

Quod necopinanti mihi tu grave onus imposuisti, idem ut detrectare nollem duæ potissimum caussæ impulerunt, singularis amor tui, Patris optimi commune mihi cum aliis omnibus desiderium; mihi vero præcipue desiderandi qui illum non solum publice sed etiam privatim quantum admirabar tantum diligebam. Quanquam ita grave onus erat, ut perpauca vel Aristarchum ipsum requirere viderentur. Id habeto mihi perlegenti cito innotuisse, quantam ex æqualium quum Etonensium tum Academicorum præconio cogitatione præceperam, tantæ spei suæ alumnum Regalis Collegii utriusque amantissimum utrique acceptissimum satis superque respondisse. Equidem scio hodie existere quibus, "optimis quidem illis sed nec satis eruditis et paullo arrogantioribus viris," totum hoc displiceat, in pangendis Græce et Latine carminibus operam consumere. Longe tamen plures, quibus istæ scilicet nugæ se commendent, quos ad æmulandum ipsos ultro exstimulent, qui ut Græce et Latine satis ipsi sciant ea demum æmulatione se assecutos vel assecuturos intelligant, et spero esse et confido. His utique probabitur ratio tua Opusculum istuc

edentis et pervulgantis. Horum animos legentium morabuntur quæ ὁ μακαρίτης plaudenti sodalium et ætate provectiorum cœtui famæ in posterum suæ specimina, et puer et adolescens proposuit. Hos, si quid video, mira quadam oblectatione afficiet accuratæ ambitus doctrinæ ut in ephèbo pæne infinitus, comptissima sermonis elegantia, dotes ingenii fertilis ac multiplicis eximiæ. Hi mecum necessest fateantur, quantus futurus esset Vir Puerum jam ostendisse. Hi tibi tuisque, qui parentis egregii superstites pio animo memoriam fovetis et fovebitis, gratulabuntur fortunasque laudabunt vestras, qui patrem haberetis tot tantisque virtutibus, religionis, fidei, constantiæ, comitatis, rerum divinarum atque humanarum scientiæ, ceteris omnibus cumulatissimum.

Non, si quid olim lusit, edax dies
Delebit. Illest, qui tibi, Vergili,
Qui certet Alcæi camenis,
Ipse potens utriusque linguæ.

Dabam VIII. Id. Januar. A. S. MDCCCLXVIII.

I.—THE SUICIDE.

Lonsdale (aged 15).—Sent up for good, June 1803.

"Ος εἰς θάνατον ἔσπευσεν οὐδενὸς καλέσαντος.

Qua rapidis objecta Notis et fulminis igni
Secretum patulâ callem super imminet umbrâ
Fagus, et horrendum foliis immurmurat atris;
Sede sepulchrali, gelidæque sub aggere terræ
Tristitiâ tandem sævoque dolore peracto
Conditur infelix Damon; quem in vere juventæ
Abstulit atra dies, propriæque insania dextræ.
Ille diu occultum celans sub pectore vulnus
Vix miseram traxit vitam; nec leniit ægrum
Alma quies, vel cùm petiit Sol æthera, vel cùm
Pronus in Hesperiis nitidum jubar abdidit undis.
Heu quoties longæ vigilans per tædia noctis
Fletibus aspersit lectum, frustraque fugacem
Orabat somnum lassatæ infundere menti
Perbreve lenimen, duræque oblivia curæ.
At, memini, nebulis tenebrosus inhorruit æther,
Præsagumque caput dirâ ferrugine texit
Phœbus; ut irreducem juvenis miserabilis ibat

Per nemoris dumeta viam, vitæque suique
Impatiens, mortemque petens, certusque moriri.
Vidi ego pallentes venturo funere vultus,
Et male compositos gressus, et lumina volvi
Sanguinea, et dubio mussantem murmure linguam.
Vidi fatifero trajectum vulnere corpus,
(Quàm frustra vidisse piget) ruptosque recessus
Pectoris, et tepido fumantem sanguine cultrum.
Procubuit, graviterque gemens terram ore momordit.
At tu, qui fixis oculis hoc tenue, viator,
Aspectas bustum, ne tam lugubre patrantem
Execrare manum facinus; miserere malorum
Tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.
Nec super exanimes artus gravis herba cicutæ
Germine lethifero surgat; nec mollia dona
Hic largâ cumulosque manu ver dulce recuset.
Quid licet, ingenti constructum mole sepulchrum
Et tituli, Parioque insculptæ marmore laudes
Non decorent cineres; tamen hic Clementia lætos
Spargere gaudebit flores, nostrisque negata
Luminibus cæloque cohors demissa per auras
Mulcebit miseros divino carmine Manes:
Petrarchique chelys (sortem quæ flevit iniquam
Ante diem raptæ crudeli funere Lauræ)
Te quoque lugebit, juvenis miserande, tuumque
Ad tumulum fundet querulæ pia munera Musæ.

Hæc ego defuncto mœstus votiva sodali
Carmina dicebam, subitò cùm luce refulsit
Splendidiore dies, et vox sic orsa per auras
Ætherios pröferre sonos : " O desine, vates,
Desine non meritas vitiis innectere lauros,
Et specie falsâ turpem prætexere culpam.
Si tamen ex Erebo vitæ mala tristia misit
Omnipotens rerum genitor, latèque vagari
Jussit, et afflictis terræ spatiârier oris ;
At simul os sanctum cælesti ostendit ab arce
Aurea Religio, quæ sævo opponeret hosti
Ægida sideream, durosque repelleret ictus.
Et juveni, quem tu proprio gemis ense peremptum,
Effusis pure precibus votisque rogatam
Illa tulisset opem ; tristesque a mente procellas
Collectasque sacro pepulisset lumine nubes.
Ergo mortalis concessam a Numine vitam
Impius abjiciet, divinæ munera dextræ
Temnere non metuens ? nimium rapido pede lethum
Improperatum aderit ; vivas, dum vivere fas est,
Nec soli vibranda Deo necis arripe tela."

II.—THE FALL OF CITIES.

Lonsdale (aged 15).—Sent up for good, autumn 1803.

Ἀποθνήσκουσι γὰρ καὶ πόλεις.

Surge age, et aeriis labens audacius alis,
Per Latii campos, et opertas nubibus Alpes
Dædaleam cape, Musa, viam ; veterisque Quirini
Lapsas quære domos, ipsisque horrenda ruinis
Mœnia ; quà mœsto procedens agmine Tibris
Dirigit indignam, raptis sibi laudibus, undam.
O fragiles hominum vires ! quos vita revolvit
Quam varios casus ! semper mutanda, novasque
Exhibitura vices ! jacet orbis Martia victrix
Inclyta Roma jacet ; video (proh tristia fata)
Admirans video (ceu quondam Evandrius hospes)
Per vacuas gramen plateas, desertaque nasci
Atria, et in lautis pecudes mugire Carinis.
O ubi nunc tua fama latet, bellique virumque
Magna parens ? quò fugit honos, latèque potentes
Ausonii fasces, quos Sol oriensque cadensque
Aspexit dominos ? I nunc, iterumque subactis
Gentibus increpita, solitoque extóllere fastu.
O ubi sunt nati fortes ? ubi nescia vinci
Heroŭm generosa manus ? • Deciique, Catonesque
Et Curius contemptor opum, Mariusque feroci
Ore minax, regumque exosi vincula Bruti.
Me dulces inter latebras, multâque celebrem
Nobilitate locum, et tacito penetralia gressu
Ire juvat, priscique decus meditarier ævi.

Dum circum veteres urnæ, et rubigine læsa
Heroum simulachra jacent; hìc marmore vivit
Scipiadæ mitis virtus; hic sanguine ficto
Pompeii calet effigies; hic Julius acrem
Indicat ore animum, tollensque ad sidera vultus
Indignatur humum, regnique ardescit amore.
Proximus his, oculos paullum tellure moratos
Conjicit in proceres, expectatoque resolvit
Tullius ora sono; qualis te, perfide, quondam
Terruit infestum patriæ Catilina; tuosve,
Antoni, fasces, rabiemque irrisit inanem.
At viden! ut tollat veteres imitatâ ruinas
Exiguum nova Roma caput, fluviique propinquis
Insideat ripis? varios hic Martia pubes
Æmula versabat ludos; seu fræna perosi
Scandere quadrupedis tergum, seu findere telis
Aera, seu validæ pugnam tentare palæstræ
Juverit, aut rapidos ad metam volvere currus.
Hinc urbis decus; hinc pulchris animosa juventus
Incubuit studiis; nec vim funesta repressit
Allia, nec tinctæ Romano sanguine Cannæ.
Nequicquam Hesperias equitans impunè per urbes
Punicus infremuit prædo; cadit obruta flammis
Æmula Carthago; tolerat devicta pudendum
Græcia servitium; nec fugit inhospita cladem
Dacia, nec versæ Partho valuere sagittæ.
Jam silet armorum sonitus, jam læta subactum
Orbem Roma tenet; sequitur damnosa voluptas,

Et placidæ comitans pacis vestigia luxus.
Nunc horti, nitidæque domus, nunc mollia vina
Magnificæque placent epulæ; fugit inclyta virtus,
Belli cura fugit, lapsumque urbs alta Quirini
Demittit caput, et magni stat nominis umbra.
En Byrsæ vindex, et tanti sanguinis ultor
Hostis adest; Latii trepidos immissa per agros
Tempestas inimica furit; perit ardua Roma,
Terrarum domitrix; et quam non vicerat orbis
Copia vincit opum, et fortunæ dona secundæ.

III.—LIFE IS A DREAM.

Lonsdale.—3 Oct. 1805. 'Sent up for play.

τίνι τὸν βίον ὁμοιώσω;

Λυρικῆς ἄνασσα χορδῆς
λέγε μοι τίνι βρότειον
βίοτον παρεικάσαιμ' ἄν;
τί δ' ἐν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖσιν,
τί δὲ βένθεσιν θαλάσσης,
μακρὸν ἢ πέτασμ' ἀν' αἴας
ταχινώτερον παρῆλθε;
βίος, ὡς ὄραμα κοῦφον
βίος, ὡς νόημα φεύγει·
βίος ἐμφερὴς ὀϊστῷ
Σκυθικὴν λιπόντι νευρήν·
βίος αἰετῷ συθέντι
νεφέων διὰ σκοτεινῶν
μάλ' ἔοικεν, ἢ κατ' ἄκρας

ποταμῷ ῥέοντι πέτρας.
βίος ἐστὶν ἀνθέμοισιν
ὑακινθίνοις ὅμοιος,
ἅτε σήμερον βρύοντα
κρύος αὔριον μαραίνει.
Ἄγετ' οὖν (ἐπεὶ θεοῖσι
χρόνος οἴχεται πόδεσσιν)
ἄγετ', ὦ φίλοι, μεριμνῶν
πολυφροντίδων ἄμοιροι,
γλυκερὸν πίωμεν οἶνον.
κιθάρας τε τερπνὸν ἆσμα
φρένα θελγέτω σὺν αὐλοῖς,
ἄχεος τε, πρὶν μανῆναι,
καταπαυέτω θυέλλας.
Σύ δ', ἐρασμία Νέαιρα,
ἄγ', ἐμοῦ καλοῦντος, ἐλθέ,
ὑπὸ τ' ὀφρύσιν μελαίναις
χαρίεν τι μειδίασον.
μετὰ σοῦ ῥόδοισι χαίτην
στεφανούμενος χορεύσω·
μετὰ σοῦ καλὴ Κυθήρη
ὅσ' ἔδωκε τερπνὰ δρέψω.
τάχα λοίσθιον τόδ' ἦμαρ,
τόδε φέγγος εἰσορῶμεν·
τάχα Ταρτάρειον ἡμᾶς
νέφος αὔριον καλύψει.
ἄγετ' οὖν, κόροι, πίωμεν·
ἄγε, φῶς ἐμὸν Νέαιρα
φιλέωμεν, ὄφρα Δαίμων
στυγεραί τ' ἐῶσι Κῆρες.

IV.—THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

Lonsdale.—Christmas task, December 1805. Sent up for play, March 1806.

Ægyptiorum Israelitas insequentium clades.

Vim Pater o supreme, tuam, monstrataque terræ
Prodigia æternæ, et veterum miracula rerum
Vellem equidem memorare: sed impermissa petentis
Comprimit ora timor: quis enim cælestia quærat
Mortali celebrare lyrâ? quis maxima demens
Exiguis tenuet numeris? quî Musa per oras
Audeat humentem terrenis roribus alam
Tollere sidereas, et non sua visere regna?
Vos Ægyptiaci tractus, Mareoticaque arva,
Vos Arabum deserta, et Rubri litora ponti
Dicite, (conspexistis enim) divina potestas
Quid valeat, quo se magni ferat ira Tonantis.
Dicite quos dederit luctus, quo turbine vestris
Finibus ingruerit clades, cum pectore cæcas
Concepit furias, ipsumque in bella vocavit
Cælicolûm Regem Pharao; cùm pallida Numen
Horruit infestum Memphis, populumque ducemque
Extinctum gemuit, stratosque in pulvere fastus.
Jampridem genus Isacidûm, Abramique nepotes
Servitio Ægyptus longo, et ditione superbâ
Presserat; afflicti durâ sub compede cives
Jussa exercebant opera, indignumque laborem.
O quoties inter plagas, et herilia probra
Secretas fudere preces, gemitusque sub imo
Corde volutarunt! domini vetuere minaces

Plura loqui ; tacitis mussabat questibus angor.
At non interea nullis hæc spectat ocellis
Omnipotens ; summâ cæli miseratur ab arce
Mœrentes, lapsisque parat succurrere rebus.
Quippe dies suberat (neque enim promissa videmus
Vana exire Dei) quâ jam sibi fœdere certo
Jungeret electam gentem, propriamque vocaret,
Eriperetque jugo, et prædictis sisteret arvis.
Ergo sacra Dei portans mandata superbum
Mittitur ad regem Moses ; cui frater Aäron
It comes, Amrami magnâ de stirpe sacerdos.
Tum sic incipiunt fari : " Tua limina, princeps,
Cælestem monitum divinaque jussa secuti
Ingredimur ; nec nos nullius Numinis urget
Imperium : Deus ille (patres quem rite colebant
Quem maria et terræ dominum cælumque fatetur)
Isacidas miseros, quos tu premere improbus ægro
Audes servitio, vocat in meliora, suasque
Vindicat in leges : patere his excedere terris,
Securosque suo Regi persolvere cultus."
Talia poscebant, subitasque exarsit in iras
Justitiæ spretor Pharao, linguâque feroci
Addidit hæc : " Quæ verba mihi dementia fertis ?
Quis novus hic Deus est ? quo tanto Numine fretus
Imperat hoc, speratque mihi dominarier ? ite,
Ite et cum sociis opera exercete relicta."
Ergo supremum probris impune Jehovam
Vox humana petet ? fastumne tyrannus inultum
Concipiet mente, et tumido fremet improbus ore ?

O qualis quantamque trahens vindicta ruinam
Imminet! o quoties flebis scelera ista nefasque!
Quos gemitus duces, Pharao! quæ, Nile, videbis
Funera, cum tumulos præterlabere recentes!
Ergo agedum nobis (nam tu sacra omnia nôsti)
Uranie, memora, queis deinde exterrita pœnis
Fleverit Ægyptus, quas dira insania regis
Intulerit pestes, spretique injuria cæli.
Invasit primum fluvios fontesque lacusque
Ira Dei: novus ecce rubor per stagna cucurrit,
Vivaque in obscœnum se vertit lympha cruorem.
Ipse suos lątices et purpureos cataractas
Vidit et intremuit Nilus, latebrisque sub imis
Condidit attonitum caput, et septemflua pressit
Ostia. Corruptas pisces jacuere per undas
Exanimi, ripæque gravem effudere mephitim.
At non hôc Pharaonis inexpugnabile pectus
Frangitur; insanit magis ille magisque, suoque
Durescit luctu, damnisque fit efferus ipsis.
Hinc aliæ accedunt clades. Jamque excita crassis
Agmina ranarum stagnis, limoque palustri
In siccum densa exsiliunt; perque intima tectorum
Atria, (nec vectes nec multo janua ferro
Clausa viam rumpit) perque ipsa cubilia tendunt
Regis, et immundo conspurcant omnia tactu.
Emicat in vitam pulvis, parvasque animantûm
Fœdorum profert acies. Ruit aere opaco
Stridulus, innumeris muscarum exercitus alis,
Obsiditque epulas, importunusque pererrat.

Dein, mediis illapsa agris, armenta gregesque
Sternit acervatim pestis : cum matribus agni
Dant animas ; nec quid tauro sua robora prosunt ;
Languet ĕquus, moriensque acres demittit ocellos,
Luxuriemque jubæ, vestitaque fulmine colla.
Ulcera quid memorem, pecudumque hominumque cruentis
Exesos papulis artus ? Ipsi quoque cælo
Visus inesse furor : mixto nam fulmine grando
(Qualem nec sensit tellus nec sentiet olim)
Præcipitans herbasque et vites et sata læta
Obruit ; immugit tonitru : liquidus per adustam
Volvitur ignis humum, et celeri rapit obvia flammâ.
Siquid adhuc tantâ superest a strage relictum,
Involat hoc, Euri pennis advecta sonoris,
Atra locustarum nubes, totumque voraci
Umbrat gente solum, et nudatis incubat arvis.
Quid tibi nunc artes solitæ, quid carmina diris
Fœta veneficiis, princeps miserande, ruenti
Auxilium tulerunt ? victi tremuere, Deumque
Agnovere Magi, concessaque non sibi facta.
Abdidit os pavidum, ne tot mala fœda videret,
Sol fugiens ; cæcosque obscurâ veste tenebræ
Tres cinxere dies, totidem sine sidere noctes.
Palluit Ægyptus conterrita, palluit ipse
Rex Pharao ; sæpe, incusans se multa, petitum
Isacidis promisit iter, veniamque coactis
Oravit precibus, sæpe illum in corde resurgens
Rettulit in scelera et vetuit mollescere fastus.

Ergo aliud gravius damnum, crudelior ira
Adjicitur. Mediâ tellus cum nocte quierat,
Ecce volat per agros et tecta silentia somno
Lethifer ultorisque Dei pœnæque minister
Angelus, et primo partu quoscunque parentes
Ediderant, sternit; pereunt ditesque inopesque,
Nec casa parva suam, nec servat regia prolem.
Exoritur tristis vastata per oppida clamor;
Exoritur matrum demens ululatus; ubique
Plangores lacrymæque et plurima mortis imago.
At vero Isacidum certo discrimine notæ
Clade vacant sedes; nec quicquam e pestibus illos
Læserat in medio peragentes otia luctu.
Tum demum attonitus monstris amensque timore
Exclamat Pharao: "Quid in hac tellure manetis,
Hebræi, mea pernicies? I, quo Deus urget,
Invisum genus, atque actutum hos desere fines."
Ergo ibat, longis vix tandem libera vinclis,
Auro Ægyptiaco et cumulatâ merce locuples
Tota manus; juvat effundi matresque virosque,
Molirique fugam, et crudeli excedere terrâ.
Per loca senta situ, lateque jacentia tesqua
Impavidos tendunt gressus: hâc jusserat ire
Omnipotens, ne fors breviori tramite ductis
Obstaret, sævoque minax Philistia bello
Terreret segnes animos, insuetaque pugnis
Pectora. Qualis oves ad prata recentia rivis
Pastor agit, talis populum ducebat euntem
In nova regna Deus, noctesque diesque præibat

Ignibus ætherĕis, et nube incinctus opacâ.
Ecce autem rapiensque rotas, equitumque cohortes
Instabat Pharao : rursus formidine pulsâ,
Corda furor fastusque subit, nec fert sua linqui
Servitia et ruptis populum fugisse catenis.
Jamque, ubi contigerat littus quod spumea Rubri
Verberat unda maris, castrisque resederat agmen
Isacidum, procul a tergo respexit in auras
Pulveream volvi nubem, trepĭdumque repente
Vidit equos, vidit currus et signa sequentum.
Continuo turbati animi, mœstusque per omnes
It pavor ; incusant pariter Mosemque Deumque,
Præcipiuntque horrenda necis, magnoque paratum
Oderunt abitum, et mala munera libertatis.
Heu quid agant ? quo se vertant ? hinc imminet hostis
Exitium cædemque ferens ; hinc lata tumescunt
Objectoque fugam præcludunt æquora fluctu.
Hic vero apparet subitum et mirabile visu
Prodigium. Jussam Moses simul aere virgam
Extulerat, validi discissus flatibus Euri
Subtrahitur gurges medius, dextrâque sinistrâque
In geminam surgit molem, siccique patescit
Callis iter. Stupuere omnes, stupet ipse, suæque
Spectat opus virgæ defixo lumine vates.
Jamque per arentem salis alveum, regnaque nuper
Humida procedit populi globus omnis : at illos
Curvata in muri faciem circumstetit unda
Accepitque sinu vasto. Mirantur utrinque

Pendentes fluctus, pelagique arcana reclusi
Invisosque prius scopulos, ignotaque monstra.
Hæret hians hostis, formidatamque recusat
Ire viam, dubiusque premit vestigia languor.
At non insano Pharaoni audacia cessit:
Turbidus exultat campo, sociosque morantes
Increpitat, mutosque metu; frenisque remissis
Urget equos, barathroque infert se primus aperto.
Succedunt comites, perque irremeabile marmor
Devoto infelix vehitur cum rege caterva.
Tum Pater e flammis, et denso nubis amictu
Prospicit, adversoque corusci lumine vultûs
Turbat Niligenas, properantiaque agmina tardat,
Contunditque rotas currûm. Nec jam mora longa
Exitio; portentiferam super æquora Moses
Ecce iterum tollit virgam; fit stridor, aquarum
Concretæ hinc illinc moles solvuntur, et omnis
Divisi coit Oceani, repetitque relictum
Unda locum, trepidasque Ægypti cum duce turmas
Obruit incursu subito; merguntur et arma
Mergunturque viri, Phariæ flos ille juventæ
Occidit, atque hausti refluo sub gurgite currus.
Interea optatâ incolumes potiuntur arenâ
Isacidæ, lætisque procul mirantur ocellis
Volvier attonitos stagnis ultricibus hostes.
Tum vero insignem totâ cum plebe triumphum
Exultans cecinit Moses; soror accinit illi
Fatidicâ pollens linguâ, ducitque sonantes
Cum grege virgineo choreas, et tympana pulsat.

Unà omnes clamore fremunt, amor omnibus idem
Carminibus celebrare Deum, "Te, summe, canemus
Te, Pater, ornatum palmâ, victisque celebrem
Hostibus : ut tua vis ingenti clade sub alto
Mersit equos, equitesque, infestaque contudit arma!
O lux Isacidûm, o semper fidissima nostris
Spes et præsidium rebus, te laude juvabit
Tollere perpetuâ, tibi dignum ad sidera templum
Exstruere, et sacros ultro persolvere cultus.
Tu regis armorum rabiem ; te lurida belli
Vidimus horrificâ torquentem fulmina dextrâ ;
Vidimus, ut, lectis cum pugnatoribus, audax
Occiderit Pharao, et superati gloria Nili.
Te mare pacatum, te conscia Numinis unda
Audiit, et cumulis erecta silentibus altè
Constitit, et solidos divisit semita fluctus.
Vesanò tumuit fastu, et spem fovit inanem
Hostis atrox ; 'Age,' dixerunt, 'invisa sequamur
Agmina ; ditemur prædâ ; immittamus habenas
Cædis, et Hebræo rubeant freta tincta cruore.'
Nec tu plura sinis ; jactantesque ista refusis
Vorticibus sorbet pelagus ; jacuere voluti
Undæ inter fremitum, et laxati marmoris æstus.
Audiet hæc, ponetque novâ formidine victa
Stirps Chananæa minas, Philisteique pavebunt
Insolito terrore duces ; turbabitur oras
Per medias, natisque suis pallescet Idume.
Nos, positis vinclis, nos per salis avia ducti
Te colimus, tibi non tacitos largimur honores

Munere pro tanto populus tuus. O Pater, adsis
Usque favens! O sis verè pater! ibimus omnes,
Te duce, per casus securi; donec in agros
Promissos tuleris, placidâque in sede locâris."

V. THE MAGIC OF THE MUSE.

Lonsdale.—Sent up for play, September 11th, 1806.

"Ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur
Ire poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus."—HOR.

O nemora antiquis super impendentia Delphis,
Arvaque, sacrato quæ flumine lambit Elissus,
Dicite, num vestris vel adhuc memor assonat Echo
Saltibus, et raptæ servat vestigia Musæ:
Dicite, nam meministis adhuc, quæ carmina vobis
Pieriæ cecinere fides. Sophoclisne cothurnus
Parte aliquâ superest? tenerine Euripidis umbra
Rus peragrat solitum, et doctas circumgemit arces?
Longe alios quondam Divos, melioraque nostis
Tempora, cum tumido sonuit gravis Æschylus ore,
Cum scelerum ultrices jussit vibrare colubros
Eumenidas, tremuitque suæ phantasmata mentis.
O vada Cephisi, quoties stupuistis ad acrem
Pindarici strepitum plectri, cum præmia palmæ
Victor equus tulit, et dominum illustravit ovantem!
Hæc fuerunt. Proh fata Deûm crudelia! Graiæ
Conticuere lyræ; patriisque a sedibus exul

Parnassi juga cara sui, purasque Aganippes
Fugit aquas, aliamque insedit Pieris oram.
O si Pegaseâ ponti super æquora pennâ'.
Hesperiæ ad campos, Latiisque habitata poetis
Rura mihi liceât perlabier! O ubi silvæ
Tiburis, et culti celebres testudine Flacci
Bandusiæ latices? ubi cinctus arundine glaucâ
Mincius, et ripæ, petiit quas sæpe, relictâ
Urbe, Maro, et placidis fudit pia vota Camœnis?
Quando erit, ut quotacunque semel mihi gratia durum
Lævet opus, quali fluxit perfusa leporis
Ingenio vis blanda tui, mollissime vatum,
Cum grave Marcelli cecinisti funus, acerbis
Ante diem Parcis et iniquâ lege perempti?
Audiit admirans Roma, incassumque repressos
Effudit gemitus, lacrymisque indulsit obortis.
Audiit infelix mater, sensitque sub imo
Corde novum vulnus stratasque resurgere curas.
Dumque avidæ imbiberent flumen dulcedinis aures,
Ecce iterum ante oculos infandis ignibus ardens
Visus adesse rogus, repetitaque mortis imago est.
Felix, quæ talem genuisti, Roma, poetam!
Plus nimio felix, talem si semper habere
Dii tibi donassent! Sed enim divina Poesis
Ingentes animos libertatisque potentes
Flagitat, indignamque odit perferre catenam.
Ergo, ubi jam dominum positâ cervice paveres
Torpida luxurie famæque oblita prioris,

Degenerem sprevit terram, celerique volatu
Attigit Angliacos, hospes gratissima, campos.
Quis fuit ille dies, vitrei cum propter Avonis
Flumina porrectum tacitâ Natura sub umbrâ
Aspexit puerum, caroque arrisit alumno!
"Hic calamus," dixit, "tuus est; I, pinge colores
Nate meos, variumque decus mutabilis anni.
Accipe et has claves; hæc, te versante, recludet
Lætitiæ portas, aditus dabit illa Timorum
Detegere, et cæcos Lacrimarum accedere fontes."
Dixerat: ille novum concepit mente calorem.
Continuo sonat icta chelys; male credulus ensem
Lethiferum vibrat Maurus: rubet hospitis hospes
Cæde; comisque amens innectit Ophelia flores.
Nec tamen ille minor, nostri qui transiit orbis
Mœnia, Phantasiæque volans sublimibus alis
Lustravit tractus alios, hominique negatum
Carpsit iter: Patris solium, circumque trementes
Ora Dei Superos, rutilasque in limine flammas
Vidit: at insuetæ victus splendore diei
Condidit æternæ caligine noctis ocellos.
Ergo nunc cessat plectrum? nulline coronas
Phœbe, paras capiti? et Sophiæ stat nomen inane?
Musa vetet; sacrum nostri prope fluminis amnem
Siqua vagatur adhuc, dulcemque aspectat Etonam.
Spero equidem his olim campis (spem Fata secundent)
Egregius surget vates, qui tollat in astra
Carminibus patriæ nomen; Thamesisque superbus.
Nec te, Thybri, minor, nec te volvetur, Elisse.

VI.—PLEASURE AND VIRTUE.

Lonsdale.—Sent up for play, November 27, 1806.

"Vita conferta voluptatum omnium varietate."—CIC.

Sparge rosas, effunde merum : vos, Cura Laborque,
Chrysippi fatuum discruciate gregem.
Stoica durities adverso flumine niti
Gaudeat, et sævos obvia ferre Notos ;
Sit mihi compositis mare turgens molliter undis,
Blandaque securam ventilet aura ratem.
Demens ! quem stolidi captantem dona popelli
Raptat inauratis Gloria vana rotis !
Demens ! qui cumulat gazas, quas morte paternâ
Tradat ovans ventis, disjiciatque nepos !
Quid decus est? quid opes ? quid tu, celeberrima Virtus?
Nil nisi mentitum nomen, et umbra levis.
Hoc tandem agnovit melior sententia Bruti,
Et sero vellet mollius isse dies.
Ergo ades, et curæ stimulos obtunde, Voluptas ;
Fac jaceant fluctus pectoris, alma Quies.
Dum loquor, hora fugit ; nullâ prece flectitur Orcus ;
"Vive hodie ; poteris cras, puer, esse nihil."
Talia, luxurians ævo florente, canebam,
Nequitiæ illecebras exstimulante lyrâ.
Audiit, et rupta subito de nube refulgens
Ætherios Virtus edidit ore sonos ;
"Ergo desidiâ fœde torpebit inerti
Natus ut in cæli regna vehatur, homo ?

Usque adeone latet diæ scintillula flammæ ?
Sic animi dormit vis, et acumen hebet ?
Illa ego sum, per quam veterum genus acre virorum
Fulsit, et æternâ nunc quoque laude viget.
Hos sequere ; hos imitans pigri fuge munera luxûs ;
Nulla volet proprio cassa labore dies.
Nil tibi te debere putas ? nil patria poscit ?
Num via doctrinæ nulla terenda patet ?
I, studiis incumbe bonis ; sic, me duce, vises
Æthera, sic victâ morte superstes eris."

VII.—SCULPTURE.

Lonsdale.—Ἡ ἑρμογλυφικὴ τέχνη.

Dum per sacra vagor tacito penetralia gressu,
Qua vetus Angliacæ gloria vivit humi ;
Dum nitidas miror statuas, animataque busta,
Busta cadæveribus nobilitata suis ;
Marmora quà veros fulgent imitantia vultus,
Venaque non proprio sanguine plena tumet ;
Nescio quid sacri spirat locus iste timoris,
Cordaque non solitis motibus acta tremunt.
Quem primum tuear ? te, vatum maxime princeps,
Te, cui Mæoniam fas tetigisse chelyn ;
Qui nimis angustæ spernens confinia terræ,
Per non tentatos ausus es ire locos ;
Ausus es ætherias turmas, cælestiaque arma,
Gestaque sidereis dicere bella plagis.

Nec tibi fama minor, magicâ quem voce sonantem
Audiit attonitâ lætus Avonus aquâ,
Cui facilis paret lector, seu forte cachinnos
Seu victo lacrimas ore movere juvet.
Te quoque, quem longis tellus emersa tenebris
Tollere conspicuum vidit in orbe jubar,
Te doctum tacitas Naturæ pandere leges
Miror, et ignotas omnibus ante vias:
Cui Solis Lunæque vices, qui sidera nota,
Quot rutilas cæli dant per inane faces.
Fallor, an egregiâ resplendens arte videtur
Ingenii vires marmor habere tuas?
Ac veluti tu, die senex, ad sidera vultus
Tollit, et ætherias ardet adire domos?
Necnon et veteres juvat aspectare triumphos,
Dictaque funereo carmine facta ducum;
Quos supra memores edit Victoria fletus,
Demissoque gemit lumine tristis Honor.
Dum circumvolitans queritur sibi Tempus ademptos
Imperii fasces invalidasque manus;
"Ergo sic frustra victricia robora dextræ
Jacto," ait, "et telis diruta cuncta meis?
Fugit in æternum quondam metuenda potestas,
Obtusum rigidæ falcis acumen hebet:
Quicquid ego everti, solers Sculptura reponit,
Occasuque jubet clarius esse suo."

VIII.—PARADISE.

Lonsdale.—Ludit herboso pecus omne campo.

Ἠνίχ' ὁ πρῶτος ἀνήρ, Πατρὸς καλέοντος, ἀνέστη
Ὃν τέκε, θαψούσης ὅρμενος ἐκ κονίης,
Τοιόνδ' οὐρανόθε στέφανον λάβεν, οἷον ἀνάκτων
Οὔτε τις αὖ χθονίων λήψεται, οὔτ' ἔλαβε·
Τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ κρατὶ στέφανον Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἔθηκεν,
Ἀμφιπεριστάσης ἀγγελικῆς στρατιῆς.
Στῆ δὲ ταφὼν ὁ νέορτος ἄναξ· ζώων δ' ἅμα πάντων
(Ὅσσα μέγας τ' αἰθήρ, γῆ τ' ἐρίβωλος ἔχει)
Εὐθαλὲς εὐμοίρου τ' ἦλθεν γένος ἄλλοθεν ἄλλων
Ἀρχὸν ὃν ὀψομένων, ἠδ' ἐπιπειθομένων.
Σοὶ κράτος, ὦ πρώτιστ' ἀνδρῶν, Θεὸς ὤπασεν εὐρύ
Μειλιχος ἡνάσσες, δῆμος ὑπεῖκε θέλων.
Οὔτε σύγ' ἀρχομένοις στυγερῷ κακὰ μήσαο θυμῷ,
Οὔτε σ' ἄρ' ἠπίστουν, ἢ φύγον ἀρχόμενοι.
Γηθοσύνη, τέρψει τε μάκαρ Παράδεισος ἔλαμπε,
Πλήρεα δ' ἦν χάριτος πάντα καὶ ἡσυχίης.
Τίγρισιν αἱ δαμάλαι συνάθυρον, μῆλα λύκοισι,
Ποσσὶ δ' ἔχων ἀγανῶς νεβρὸν ἔπαιζε λέων.
Ἀμπλακίῃ δὲ μιῆς τάδε τερπνὰ διώλετο πάντα,
Πᾶν δὲ τὸ πρὶν καλὸν γίγνετ' ἀεικέλιον.
Κῆπε Θεοῦ, πάθες οἷα· κακῆς, ὦ τλῆμον, ἀμοιβῆς
Ἦτ' ἐνὶ σοῖς δρυμοῖς, καὶ ποταμοῖς ἐφάνη.
Ζῷα νέον δέος εἶλεν· ἄτ' ἀνθρώποις πρὶν ὁμίλευν
Ἢ φύγον, ἢ θυμοῦ πλήρεες αἰνὰ βρέμον.
Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλήλοις φρόνεον κακά· πόρτια τίγρις,
Μῆλα λύκοι, βλοσυρὸς νεβρὸν ἔπεφνε λέων.
Ὤ μοι ὅτ' ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ πέσεν· ὅττι σὺν αὐτῇ
Ἡσυχίη πάντων εὐφροσύνη τ' ἔπεσον.

IX.—VALE.

Lonsdale.—Admonitus locorum. Etonæ, sub finem anni 1806.

Hei mihi! quam rapido tempus pede præterit! O cur
Dii prohibent lætos tardius ire dies?
Hora venit quæ me (propius vel dum loquor instat)
Solvet ab amplexu, dulcis Etona, tuo.
Quid faciam? frustra mora multa trahetur; eundum est,
Quo nova me vitæ pars, nova fata vocant.
Ibimus; at quemcunque mihi dent Numina cursum,
Seu placidum spirat, seu fremit acre Notus,
Pectore tu memori vives, gratissima nutrix,
Tu desiderium non leve semper eris.
Forsitan et tempus veniet, cùm, nave solutâ,
Et tumido vitæ passus iniqua mari,
Teque, tuosque iterum portus, dilecta, revisam,
Quà scapha compositis tuta natabat aquis.
Dumque locos peragro, quos prima puertia norat,
Et pedibus quondam rura notata meis,
Ilicet ætatis repetam vestigia lapsæ,
Gestaque, cùm dubius, cura quid esset, eram:
"Hic memini, coqueret cùm Sirius arva, juvabat
Velocem, positâ veste, ferire pilam:
Hæc arbor tumidâ pulsata sonabat alutâ,
Urgebatque pedem pes, puerumque puer.
Hæc vetitis audax sulcabam flumina remis;
Hic erat undivagum fallere cura gregem.
Sæpe per hos agros, dulci comitatus amico,
(Felix! qui talem sensit amicitiam!)

Errabam variis fallens sermonibus horas,
  Cùm vespertino rore madebat humus.
O quoties istâ spatiabar solus in umbrâ,
  Nescio quid meditans, nec memor ipse mei!
Ridebant socii mussantem carmina, si quid
  Noverat incomptum pangere Musa rudis.
Hâc sacer ille loci princeps in sede sedebat,
  Spectabatque suum plenus amore gregem:
Jam venit ante oculos placidè ridentis imago,
  Jam resonat blandæ vocis in aure melos.
Quàm delectabat pariter, pariterque monebat!
  Quàm piger ad pœnas, munera promptus erat!"
Hæc ego dum mecum reputo, mens ægra parumper
  Tristitiæ poterit non memor esse suæ;
Pristina lassatos recreabunt gaudia sensus,
  Et veteres credam vix abiisse dies.

X. Carmen numismate aureo Cantabrigiæ ornatum. 1807.
In obitum Gulielmi Pitt.

O si liceret grata dolentibus
Haurire Lethes flumina! cur sonat
  Lugubre plectrum? cur relictis,
    Musa, jocis hilarique ludo

Tristem jubetur ducere næniam
Invita? jam jam corde sub intimo
  Curæ soporatæ resurgunt
    Et positus renovatur angor.

Ergò, Britannûm maxime, te quoque
Lethi peremit dura necessitas ?
Ergo sepulchrali sub urnâ,
Noster honos columenque, dormis ?

Quis nunc per æquor rupibus asperum
Rerumque fluctus et vada turbida
Quis imperî clavum tenebit,
Et laceram reget arte navem ?

Divina fugit mens, animus vigil
Fugit perîclis cedere nescius,
Sagaxque venturi tenebras
Luce suâ penetrare fati ;

Expers timorum, propositi tenax,
Ad se trahentem cuncta pecuniam
Contemnere audax, et secundis
Temporibus, dubiisque rectus.

Illum nec amens vulgus, et impias
Effræna jactans seditio minas,
Nec hostium nubes tremendam
Littoribus meditata cladem

Concussit : inter funera gentium
Vicesque diras, sceptraque funditus
Disjecta non leni ruinâ
Impavidus placidusque mansit.

Quis tempus illud non meminit grave,
Atrâque fœtos pernicie dies,
Cùm Gallia insanis per omne
Acta nefas furiis, rubensque

Nondum expiatâ cæde, Britanniæ
Invidit oris pace fruentibus,
Plebisque contendit quietas
Peste novâ vitiare mentes ?

Gentis medullas sparsa per intimas
Contagia errant ; jam magis et magis
Occulta mussavit procella,
Jam tremuit labefacta regni

Columna : sed tu vi patriâ valens
Opem tulisti, maxime : te duce
Discordiæ murmur resedit,
Et tumidi cecidere fluctus.

Eheu ! perenni lingua silentio
Compressa torpet, quæ modo curiæ
Cœtus gubernabat frequentes
Rhetoricum jaculata fulmen.

Quàm corda verbis victa potentibus
Cessere ! quanto contremuit metu,
Quicunque secretum parabat
Mente nefas, patriamve lucro

Minùs colebat! qualiter impio
Daturus igni Romuleas domos
Facundiam Tullî minacis
Attonitus Catilina fugit.

O lux tuorum, nil vigor ingenî,
Nil os disertum, nil valuit fides,
Quin civium votis negatus
Ante diem caderes in ipso

Splendore famæ! Cùm tamen ultimus
Vitæ exeuntis deficeret calor,
Actisque pro nostrâ salute
Excubiis, nimiâque curâ

Fractus jaceres, tum quoque languidam
Mentem occupavit patria; patriæ
Trementibus nomen labellis
Hæsit adhuc, voluitque lingua

Orbæ precari fausta Britanniæ;
Sed dura lethi corripuit manus
Loqui laborantem, suisque
Spiritus exsiluit catenis.

Tantæ superbam funere victimæ
Europa Mortem vidit, et horruit;
Tristisque Libertas ademto
Ingemuit graviter patrono.

Quo plena luctu fleverit Anglia
Sol ille testis, cùm tibi publicus
Novissimum munus sepulchri
Solvit amor, tacitamque cives

Duxere pompam ; donec in ædibus
Sanctus bonorum quà recubat cinis,
Artus honorati quiêrunt
Egregii prope patris urnam.

At, si qua castis præmia manibus,
Non occidisti ; vivis, et ordini
Adscriptus heroum beato
Ætheriâ spatiaris orâ.

Nunquam minores (si vel adhuc memor
Terrena miti lumine despicis)
Te non recordantes videbis ;
Nunquam erit, ut lateas silenti

Oblivionis nocte reconditus :
Sed pæne lapsi præsidium imperî
Diceris, ardebitque frustra
Invidiæ furor obstrepentis.

Vale, Britannûm gloria ; dum tuæ
Nutrix juventæ Granta pio gemit
Dolore sublatum, et verendos
Phidiacâ sacrat arte vultus.

Noster fuisti, cùm jubar extulit
Mens dia primum ; noster adhuc eris,
Dulcesque, quas vivens amâsti,
Effigie decorabis umbras.

Ergò omnis ibit marmor ad inclytum
Futura pubes, perque tuum caput
Jurabit in pulchros labores,
Et patriæ studium salutis :

Lætusque claras laude novâ domos
Arundinoso præfluere alveo
Superbiet Camus, tumensque
Volvet aquas violentiores.

XI.

Carmen numismate aureo Cantabrigiæ ornatum, 1809.

Lusitania liberata.

" Spirate flabris lene sonantibus
Spirate, venti : vosque, maris Deæ,
Quæcunque per collum fluentes
Coralio premitis capillos ;

Quascunque raptant per vada Atlantica
Latere jussæ terrigenas rotæ ;
Adeste felices, sacrisque
Sternite iter placidum carinis

Vosque Albionis cedere nescii
Salvete nati ; promite liberas
Per arva Lusitanâ vires,
Et miseram reparate gentem.

Jam bellicosæ signa Britanniæ
Expansa blandos sollicitant Notos ;
Jam turpe pallescens in ipsâ,
Galle, manum cohibes rapinâ."

Has ore voces rupit ad æquoris
Stans inquietum littus, et aureos
Effusa Libertas capillos,
Tempore quo sociam Britannus

Admovit oris Hesperiis ratem ;
Irâque fervens non inamabili,
Sævasque rupturus catenas
Explicuit sua lætus arma.

Quò, Musa, quò me proripis ? Audio
Prægnantia atrâ clade tonitrua ;
Fumusque fulgoresque belli
Ante oculos volitant trementes.

Io ! peractum est ! Gallia, vinceris :
Quis liberorum perferat impetum ?
Instate, victrices catervæ,
Sternite humi trepidum latronem.

I nunc, heriles, maxime militum
Ostende flatus! I, spolia irrita
Nomenque Abrahteum recense
Et scelerum pretiis superbi!

At cur iniquo oppressa silentio
Cessant procellæ murmura ferreæ?
Cur iste præsagus malorum
Somnus adest, meritasque torpor.

Compescit iras? hei mihi! fœdera
Cerno indecoris conditionibus
Compôsta; devictusque victor
Ipse suam posuit coronam.

Sic, sic triumphas, Galle: quid impetum
Jactamus acrem, et pectora concuti
Ignara, versutis minores
Consiliis tacitâque fraude?

Esto; triumphes; sed vetitâ fugax
Tellure cedis; sed populus tuâ
Exultat ereptus catenâ et
Liber agris fruitur paternis.

Ergo rapinâ dives Ibericâ
Tuæ revises littora Sequanæ;
Tagique merces et petitam
Per gemitus lacrymasque gazam

Inter superbæ tecta Lutetiæ
Jactabis? haud sic prensus abit lupus;
Haud sic quieverunt sopore
Justitiæ vigiles ocelli.

Io! soluti tollite tollite
Pæana, cives! lux nova tristibus
Affulsit oris, et voraces
Aura favens alios in agros

Torsit locustas: ludite, virgines
Ludum priorem; nocte suâ caput
Velavit obscœnum, fugæque
Terga dedit tremefacta raptor.

O si, relictis sedibus ætheris
Vatumque dulci nobilium choro,
Paulisper in terras rediret
Magna sacri Camoentis umbra!

O si pererrans rursus eburneam
Audaciori pectine barbiton,
Stellam renascentem suorum,
Et profugos caneret tyrannos!

At tu, Braganzæ non humilis nepos,
Mandata fortis spernere Corsica,
Orasque libertate lætas
Exilio reparare pulchro,

Quæ gaudiorum flumina pectore
Volves ab imo, cùm tibi patriam
Narrabit emersam tenebris
Lapsa levi pia Fama pennâ!

Spero et gementis murmur Iberiæ
Silebit olim: mille licet graves
Premant reluctantem catenæ,
Spernet humum generosa virtus.

Non vana fingo somnia; dum loquor,
Firmat labantem Carolus Austriam,
Multoque Gallorum cruore
Purpurei vada turbat Istri.

Justo rependens funere funera
Vis instat ultrix; impete libero
Resurget Europe triumphans,
Præcipitemque ruet tyrannum.

Resurget—ergò, cùm jubar aureum
Feliciores extulerint dies,
Rursusque sacratum coronet
Legitimas diadema frontes,

Tum (nec remotus sit, precor, exitus!)
Illustris exul, te pia patria
Gaudebit amplecti reversum,
Et solio decorare avito.

XII.

SWIFT's description of a City Shower. In imitation of Virgil's Shower—1710.

Careful observers may foretel the hour
By sure prognostics, when to dread a shower.
While rain depends, the pensive cat gives o'er
Her frolics, and pursues her tail no more:
Returning home at night, you'll find the sink
Strike your offended nose with double stink.
A coming shower your shooting corns presage,
Old aches will throb, your hollow tooth will rage.
Sauntering in coffee-house is Dulman seen,
He damns the climate and complains of spleen.
If you be wise, then go not far to dine;
You'll spend in coach-hire more than save in wine.
Meanwhile the south, rising with dabbled wings,
A sable cloud athwart the welkin flings.
Brisk Susan whips her linen from the rope,
While the first drizzling shower is borne aslope.
Nor yet the dust had shunned the unequal strife,
But aided by the wind, sought still for life;
And wafted with its foe by violent gust,
'Twas doubtful which was rain, and which was dust.
Ah! where must needy poet seek for aid,
When dust and rain at once his coat invade?
Now in contiguous drops the flood comes down,
Threatening with deluge this devoted town,

XII.

Lonsdale.—Translation. Sent up for good, 1806.

" Aquæ nisi fallit augur."—Hor.

Quisquis es, Urbis amans, qui plane scire laboras,
Queis signis pluviæ præmoneantur aquæ,
Hæc lege; te nunquam, mea si præcepta sequaris,
Non expectato proluet imbre Notus.
Tempore quo pluvias intentant nubila, felis
Mœsta jacet, caudam neq; petit ore suam.
Tum gravius fœtet serâ sub nocte cloaca,
Satque prius teter, tetrior exit odor.
Tum dolet, et tardo salit acrior in pede clavus,
Et facilem somnum dens cavus esse vetat.
Oscitat, et densum spleneticus aera damnat,
Cauponæ vacuis qua patet ampla domus.
Si sapis, ad cœnam tum longius ire caveto:
Deficit æs? reditus non tibi siccus erit.
Evolat interea pennis humentibus Auster,
Et potas nubes plurima reddit aquas.
Pythias, ut primæ crepitant per compita guttæ,
Pendula ab extremo lintea fune rapit.
Sterni indignatur pulvis, surgitque reluctans,
Auxilium valido sufficiente Noto.
Jamque volant misti pulvisque imberque per auras;
O miseri, si quos ista prehendit hiems!
I, pete, dum fas est sicco, cœnacula, vates,
Quæque tibi sola est, disce timere togæ.

To shops in crowds the daggled females fly,
Pretend to cheapen goods, but nothing buy.
Boxed in a chair the beau impatient sits
While spouts run clattering o'er the roof by fits,
And ever and anon with frightful din
The leather sounds, he trembles from within:
So when Troy chairmen bore the wooden steed,
Pregnant with Greeks impatient to be freed,
Laocoon struck the outside with his spear,
And each imprisoned hero quaked for fear.

XIII.

Invitation to the Feathered Race (Greaves).

Again the balmy zephyr blows,
  Fresh verdure decks the grove;
Each bird with vernal rapture glows,
  And tunes his notes to love.

Ye gentle warblers! hither fly,
  And shun the noon-tide heat:
My shrubs a cooling shade supply;
  My groves, a safe retreat.

Here, freely hop from spray to spray,
  Or weave the mossy nest;
Here, rove and sing the live-long day;
  At night, here sweetly rest.

At jam præcipitans vastâ se mole procella
Deucalioneis vix minor instat aquis.
Femineæ trepidant turbæ, plenisque tabernis
Collectæ, spectant omnia, emuntque nihil.
Sed bellum lectica tenet, circumque supraque
Verberibus crebris unda inimica sonat.
Contremit ille intus; sic, cum sub mœnia Trojæ
Argolico prægnans milite venit equus,
Laocoon monstrum ferro percussit acernum,
Occultique sinu contremuere viri.

XIII.

Lonsdale.—Translation.

Rursus hibernæ fugiunt procellæ,
Rursus in campos violam rosamque
Flora diffundit, Zephyrusque blandis
Ventilat alis.

Veris optatâ vice recreatum
Agmen exultat volucrum, caletque
Cypridis notâ face, pristinosque
Instaurat amores.

Huc, precor, dulces celerate, turbæ;
Hic paro vobis placidos recessus,
Quà licet, nullo prohibente, tutis
Ludere pennis;

Amid this cool translucent rill
That trickles down the glade,
Here bathe your plumes, here drink your fill,
And revel in the shade.

No school-boy rude, to mischief prone,
E'er shows his ruddy face,
Or twangs his bow, or hurls a stone,
In this sequester'd place.

Hither the vocal thrush repairs;
Secure the linnet sings;
The goldfinch dreads no slimy snares
To clog her painted wings.

Sad Philomel! ah, quit thy haunt
Yon distant woods among,
And round my friendly grotto chant
Thy sweetly plaintive song.

Let not the harmless red-breast fear,
Domestic bird, to come,
And seek a sure asylum here,
With one that loves his home.

My trees for you, ye artless tribe!
Shall store of fruit preserve;
O! let me thus your friendship bribe;
Come, feed without reserve.

Hic inornatos geminare cantus,
Aut juvet molli latuisse nido,
Aut levem noctu viridi sub umbrâ
Carpere somnum.

Vester est, qui per mea septa currit
Rivus ; ut fauces calido rigetis
Sole ferventes, nimioque fœdas
Pulvere plumas.

Nullus hic dextrâ puer aut protervâ
Saxeam molem parat, aut acutum
Dirigens plumbum, volucrum quietos
Rumpit amores.

Hic nec intortum laqueum timete
Nec litæ visco retinâcla virgæ,
Vana luctantes cohibentis arctâ
Compede pennas.

Profer hic suaves, Philomela, questus ;
Vosque, cum Turdis, Merulæ venite ;
Tuque naturâ placidâ, rubroque
Pectore nota.

Arbores nostræ sua poma vobis
Offerunt, vobis cerasi dicantur ;
Dulcius fructus sapit, ante vestro
Morsus ab ore.

For you these cherries I protect,
To you these plums belong;
Sweet is the fruit that you have peck'd,
But sweeter far your song.

Let then this league betwixt us made
Our mutual interests guard:
Mine be the gift of fruit and shade;
Your songs be my reward.

XIV.

EURIPIDES, HECUBA, 893-930.

Σὺ μὲν, ὦ πατρὶς Ἰλιὰς,
τῶν ἀπορθήτων πόλις
οὐκέτι λέξει· τοῖον Ἑλ-
λάνων νέφος ἀμφί σε κρύπτει,
δορὶ δὴ, δορὶ πέρσαν.
ἀπὸ δὲ στεφάναν κέκαρσαι
πύργων, κατὰ δ' αἰθάλου
κηλῖδ' οἰκτροτάταν κέχρωσαι,
τάλαιν'· οὐκέτι σ' ἐμβατεύσω.
μεσονύκτιος ὠλλύμαν,
ἦμος ἐκ δείπνων ὕπνος
ἡδὺς ἐπ' ὄσσοις κίδναται·

Fœdus hoc ergo societ catenâ
Mutuâ nosmet; mihi vos feretis
Gutturis blandi melos, ipse vobis
Tecta cibumque.

XIV.

Written in examination for the University scholarship, 1809.

Heu! occidisti funditus, Ilion:
Non jam superbum, Patria, verticem
Invicta jactabis, nec altas
Jura dabis Phrygiæ per urbes.

Heu! occidisti: nube Pelasgicâ
Cingit jacentem, perque tuas domos,
Ferroque vastatas et igni,
Torva tuens spatiatur hostis.

Neptuniarum culmina turrium
Lugubris atrâ labe tegit cinis:
Actum est: nec antiquas parentum
Fas iterum peragrare sedes.

μολπᾶν δ' ἄπο καὶ χοροποιῶν
θυσιᾶν καταπαύσας,
πόσις ἐν θαλάμοις ἔκειτο,
ξυστὸν δ' ἐπὶ πασσάλῳ,
ναύταν οὐκέθ' ὁρῶν ὅμιλον
Τροίαν Ἰλιάδ' ἐμβεβῶτα.
ἐγὼ δὲ πλόκαμον ἀναδέτοις
μίτραισιν ἐῤῥυθμιζόμαν,
χρυσέων ἐνόπτρων
λεύσσουσ' ἀτέρμονας εἰς αὐγὰς,
ἐπιδέμνιον ὡς πέσοιμ' ἐς εὐνάν.
ἀνὰ δὲ κέλαδος ἔμολε πόλιν·
κέλευσμα δ' ἦν κατ' ἄστυ Τροί-
ας τόδ'· ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλάνων, πότε
δὴ, πότε τὰν Ἰλιάδα σκοπιὰν
πέρσαντες, ἥξετ' οἴκους;
λέχη δὲ φίλια μονόπεπλος
λιποῦσα, Δωρὶς ὡς κόρα,
σεμνὰν προσίζουσ',
οὐκ ἤνυσ', Ἄρτεμιν, ἁ τλάμων·
ἄγομαι δὲ, θανόντ' ἰδοῦσ' ἀκοίταν
τὸν ἐμὸν, ἅλιον ἐπὶ πέλαγος·
πόλιν τ' ἀποσκοποῦσ', ἐπεὶ
νόστιμον ναῦς ἐκίνησεν πόδα,
καὶ μ' ἀπὸ γᾶς ὥρισεν Ἰλιάδος,
τάλαιν', ἀπείπον ἄλγει.

Nox sæva, nox me perdidit invida,
Dulcisque serpens post epulas sopor:
Securus in lecto maritus
Carminibus choreâque sacrâ

Fessum levabat corpus; et immemor
Pendentis hastæ credidit hostibus
Fugisse visis, et peractos
Urbis ovans meminit labores.

At ipsa, formæque et speculo vacans,
Per colla fusas purpureâ comas
Mitrâ coërcebam, jugali
Molle caput positura lecto.

Sed ecce! dirus mœnia personat
Turbata clamor: "Vadite, vadite,
Trojâ triumphatâ superbi
Ad patrias, Danai, Mycenas."

Tum penè nudo corpore, virginis
Instar Lacænæ, destituo torum,
Supplexque nequicquam pudicæ
Assideo genibus Dianæ.

Viso mariti funere, turgidas
Longè per undas Oceani trahor;
Navisque cùm victrix tetendit
Vela Noto nimiùm secundo,

Divisa caro littore patriæ,
Urbisque lapsas respiciens domos,
Heu! mente defeci, et severo
Procubui superata luctu.

CIVITATIBUS NON PLUS PRODEST FORTITUDO, QUAM PRUDENTIA.*

Non ignoro, judices, philosophum inter nos extitisse, qui nihil a naturæ legibus vetari affirmaverit, nec pacem magis quam bellum humano generi consentaneam esse. Quod si ita sit, fateor, ut argutè, sic etiam verè omnia ab adversario dicta esse, fateor, si bella perpetuò gerenda sint, neminem nisi, qui arma armis propulsare potest, utilem civitati fore. Sed cum longè aliter se res habeat, cum bella et maximè a naturâ aliena, ut ob hoc tantùm suscipienda sint, ut sine injuriâ in pace vivatur, cum otii pulcherrimum et dulcissimum nomen nemo ferè sanus non amet, et veneretur; fidenter, quæ sentiam, eloquar, neque dubito, quin prudentiam civitatibus multo magis quam fortitudinem prodesse rebus vincam necessariis.

Primum igitur hoc pro certo, concessoque sumamus, pace lætius, quam bello vigere rempublicam: deinde pauca in iis per quæ prudens aliquis et gnarus in re politicâ administrandâ patriæ suæ pacem agentis opes augere possit, commemoremus. Horum autem præcipuum esse arbitror legum salutarium promulgationem, in quo quidem fons ipse et origo utilitatis poni videtur. Quid enim pulchrius? Quid fructuosius esse potest, quàm certos boni, et mali fines describere?

* Written by J. Lonsdale at Eton in March 1806, two months after the death of Pitt: sent by Sir John Coleridge.

fraudes et injurias propulsare, puram denique illam justitiæ sanctitatem inviolatam tueri. Adde seditiones compositas, et licentiam populi repressam, unde summa sit inter cives et suavissima tranquillitas. Adde mercaturas latius extentas, unde divitiæ immenso quodam flumine ad civitatem redundant. Omitto suscepta artium patrocinia, omitto subjectos doctrinæ stimulos, quo magis ingenua literarum et humanitatis studia efflorescant, et quasi ex umbrâ in solem proferantur. Dum tot et tanta per prudentiam togatam geruntur, quid interea egregia illa et decantata fortitudo agit, in quâ vulgus hominum stupet, et quam exquisitissimis verbis laudavit adversarius? Quid asper ille et impavidus bellator, qui nihil nisi prœlia novit, qui in cædibus totus est, quid nunc ad communem fructum affert? Languet nimirum et dormitat in otio pæne ignobili, et rubiginem quandam tanquam armorum suorum contrahit.

Hic verò aliquis tritum illud ferocis, pæne dicerem amentis Turni usurpet, 'non replenda est Curia verbis, Tunc quum bella manus poscunt,' frustra sedemus consulentes, cùm hostis ante portas est: parùm in prudentiâ opis est, cum agri infestâ militum incursione vastantur; actum est, nisi defensorem aliquem, qui ferrum et ignem armis propulset, habeamus. Quid Numæ instituta, quid Tarquinii ædificia Romæ profuissent, nisi fugato ad Alliam exercitu, urbe direptâ, imminens jam periculum Manlius, aut Camillus

militari auxilio repulisset? Magnam vim esse fortitudinis in calamitatibus arcendis, cum ad extrema perventum est, cum in ipsius belli ore et faucibus versamur, non inficior. Neque enim meum est aliquid de eorum laudibus detrahere, qui vitæ gloriam præponentes, morti pro patriâ se pulcherrimè objecerunt. Hoc tamen dico ne in bello quidem, ubi præcipuè emicat militaris virtus, locum etiam prudentiæ deesse. 'Parvi enim sunt foris arma, nisi est consilium domi.' Eget quibusdam frænis fortitudo, quæ nisi impetum ejus vehementem coerceant et temperent, multa temerè, multa infeliciter agit. Pugnare potest fortis: 'Esto, quis vero opportuna pugnandi tempora 'eligit'?' Quis *τὰ σαθρὰ τοῦ πολέμου* deprehendit? Quis sumptus necessarios suppeditat? Quis præmia bene rem gerentibus proponit? Quis firma sociorum auxilia comparat? Quis denique pacem honestam atque utilem restituit? Nempe hæc omnia soli accepta retulimus prudenti. Fortis interea partes secundas agit et quasi nervis alienis movetur, quibus non minus inservit, quam qui navem remis propellit, gubernanti. Videtis ergo, judices, in civitatibus administrandis, prudentiam fortitudini longè antecellere: videtis hanc tantummodò in bello quicquam valere, sed in pace inutilem jacere: illam vero in omnibus æquè tempestatibus, et cum togam, et cum sagum induerit, magnopere efficacem et fructuosam esse. Hæc scilicet corporis est, illa animi, quantoque animus corpori,

tanto illa huic præstat et antecedit. Hanc denique (ut omnia uno verbo comprehendam) cum belluis illam cum Deo communem sortiti sumus.

Cum autem civilem prudentiam tantis laudibus nec injuriâ, ut spero, cumulaverim, magnum columen argumenti mei non attigisse viderer, si de egregio illo, ac pæne divino viro, qui profecto, si quis alius, prudentiâ clarissimè enituit, omnino silerem. Liceat, quæso, liceat paulisper eum admirari, quem non solum patria ejus consiliis ab exitio toties servata, non solum Europa ab eo in libertatem toties vindicata, verum etiam omnes boni, quibuscunque terrarum in regionibus versentur, sanctissimum virtutis defensorem lugent atque desiderant. Negaverit quispiam quæ loquor? Videat famam popularem, videat crudelissimas civium seditiones sine sanguine repressas, videat Martem extremum ab aris et focis nostris defensum, videat hanc terram mercaturis florentem, et divitiis undique huc advectis locupletatam, videat classem nostram maris toties dominatricem, et recentibus victoriis insignem: videat hæc, inquam per hunc acta, constituta, administrata: eximiamque istius animi, quæ tot et tanta effecerit, magnitudinem unà mecum veneratione prosequatur.

Te autem, vir amplissime, tum in vitæ flore, tum in ipsâ famæ tuæ celebritate abreptum, quanto cum luctu, tanquam in procellâ Palinuro orbati, mœreamus, difficile est dicere. Utinam vero non omnis moriaris!

Utinam tua cælo recepta mens patriæ in mediis periculis labanti etiam adhuc subveniat! Utinam gravis tua constantia, incorrupta probitas, et singularis sapientia usque ad ultimum tempus summâ cum Reipublicæ salute apud nos commoretur et vigeat.

Quare, judices, per æternam hujus viri memoriam, oro, obtestorque vos, ut caveatis, ne, si adversario nostro temere assenseritis, eam parùm honoravisse videamini. Respicite antiquum illud de Achillis armis judicium, et ut Argolici duces suffragiis suis Ajaci Ulyssem recte præposuerunt, similiter vos fortitudini prudentiam hodie præponite.

Epitaph* on the Reverend Robert Wilkinson and his wife, in Halifax Parish Church, written by Bishop Lonsdale (see p. 10).

M. S.

ROBERTI . WILKINSON . S. T. B.

SCHOLAE . PVBLICAE . IN . AGRO . SKIRCOTIANO
ANNOS . PLVS . QVAM . L
PRAEFECTI . OPTVMI
VIXIT . ANN. LXXXVI . DECESSIT . A. S. MDCCCXXXIX
ET . SARAE . VXORIS . EIUS . PRAESTANTISSVMAE
VIXIT . ANN. LXXIII . DECESSIT . A. S. MDCCCXXXIII
ERAT . ILLE . SI . QVIS . ALIVS
IN . PVERIS . INSTITVENDIS
STRENVVS . SOLERS . SANCTVS
HAEC . VERO . IN . DOMESTICA . DISCIPVLORVM . CVRA
CVSTOS . VNICE . FIDELIS
PATRONA . BENIGNISSVMA
ET . TANTVM . NON . MATER
OSSIBVS . AMBORVM . IN . EODEM . SEPVLCRO
PROVT . MVTVVM . AMOREM . DECEBAT
ALIBI . CONDITIS
HOC . MONVMENTVM . PIETATIS . ERGO
GRATI . ALVMNI

P. C.

* The want of any special word for a mortuary inscription where there is no tomb is thought by good judges to justify this extended use of the word 'epitaph' here and at p. 251.

FINIS.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,
AND CHARING CROSS.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 July, 2018